

THE BOER STATES'

~~BY THE~~ SAME AUTHOR

ETHNOLOG

MAN PAST AND PRESENT

THE EARLY CHARTERED COMPANIES

AFRICA. TWO VOLS. STANFORD SERIES

ASIA. TWO VOLS.

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HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

ETHNOLOGY OF EGYPTIAN S

THE
BOER STATES
LAND AND PEOPLE

BY

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WITH A MAP

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PREFACE

THIS volume is not meant to be a fugitive piece, to catch the passing airs, like certain *vers d'occasion*. Written in the interests neither of Boer nor Briton, it aims at presenting a permanent record, such as may be consulted with confidence, of the more salient aspects of the Land and People. To do this effectively, it was necessary to begin at the beginning, and also to take the ethical factor into account. It so happens that the Boers really have a racial beginning: they are made up of old elements moulded apart in a new environment, out of which they have been evolved by now well-understood continuous adaptive processes. They are here, therefore, traced from their slow development in the Cape region after the landing of the raw material—Dutch, French, German—which went to their making. Hence some space is given to the Formation

must continue to be, an immense factor in all problems connected with the future prospects of the lands south of the Zambesi. Here, therefore, I hope the student of politics and economics will find nearly all that he requires on the origins, physical and mental characters, past and present social conditions, of the Vaalpens aborigines (hitherto almost unknown), of the Bushman-Hottentot natives, of the Zulu-Kafir, Bechuana and other branches of the much more advanced and progressive Bantu populations.

A word with regard to the arrangement of the subject-matter, which, owing to repeated overlappings, crossings, and re-crossings in the flow of events, easily lends itself to much confusion of treatment. To prevent the picture from getting unduly crowded at certain converging points, the plan has been adopted of dealing with various important subjects as a whole, according as they arise. An irritating fragmentary treatment is thus avoided, and an uninterrupted survey is given, for instance, of the Constitution of the Transvaal Republic from the "Thirty-three Articles" of 1849 down to the last modification,

in 1897. The reader will thus be able to follow the changes consecutively, and clearly see how they have been all in the same direction, from a broad democracy in which every adult had a voice, to an exceedingly narrow oligarchy which effectually excludes the majority of the people from the rights of citizenship. Any slight inconvenience arising from this method, in which events have occasionally to be anticipated, will be obviated by reference to the Index and Contents table. On thorny points I have here and there preferred to quote recognised authorities—Theal, Livingstone, Sir H. H. Johnston, Mackenzie, and others; and am also indebted to Mr. N. W. Hill, of the Cape Civil Service, for some valuable information embodied in the *Terminology*.

A. H. K.

ARÁM-GÁH,
79 BROADHURST GARDENS, N.W.
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BOER, a freehold farmer ; cf. Ger. *Bauer* and Old Eng. *bian*, to till, to build, whence *boor* in its undegraded original meaning.

BOSCH, bush, scrub, undergrowth, as in *Boschveld*.

BURG, town, borough, as in *Middelburg*.

BURGHIER, a burgess or freeman of a borough ; any citizen with full civic rights. The great majority were, and still are, freeholders of landed estates.

COMMANDANT, the captain of a commando.

COMMANDEER, to call to arms ; to requisition.

COMMANDO, a levy ; a local or territorial division of the militia, in which all adult burghers are liable to serve, each in his own commando.

CORNET, FIELD CORNET, a local justice, who in time of war becomes *ex officio* a commissioned officer under the commandant.

DONGA, a gully or dry watercourse (Zulu).

DOPPERS, dissenters from the Dutch Reformed Church ; pious folk. President Kruger is a prominent member of this sect, and often preaches in their church at Pretoria.

DORP, a small town or village, as in *Krugersdorp* ; cf. Ger. *Dorf* and Eng. *thorp*.

DRIFT, a ford, as in *Rorke's Drift*.

DROST, a district magistrate, a magistrate in general ; cognate with Dutch *drossaard* = *drossate* + *aard* (hard suffix, as in *Bernhard*, *Everhard*) ; with *drossate* cf. Old Friesish *drusta* and Old Ger. *truhsazzo* ; so *drost* is a very old survival in Taal, and does not come from modern Dutch.

ENGELSCII, "English," severe, stern, as in *Hij het met hom Engelsch gepraat*, "He has spoken sharply to him."

HEEMRAAD, a rural or village court under the Landrost (see below) ; in colonial times both a criminal court for petty offences, and a civil and small-debt court for sums under

50 rixdollars (£3 10s.); *Heem* = Home; for *raad* see below. The members were unsalaried, but the office was coveted as one of honour and distinction; they were also assessors for local and district rates.

HES, a Hessian, in the sense of a lout; see **SWAAB**, below.

IMPI, a native regiment (Zulu).

KABOE, **KOEBOE**, maize (Zulu?)

KARROO, arid land (Hottentot).

KLOOF, a cleft, gorge, or pass through a range.

KOOPMAN, lit. a "chapman," dealer, merchant; cf. Ger. *Kaufmann*; but in colonial times never so used; always meant a lieutenant, clerk, or other subordinate officer of the Dutch East India Company. The explanation is, that trade was a complete monopoly, and these officers (senior and under merchants) had charge of the general stores, which they bartered with the natives, and sold to the settlers—hence in a sense they were dealers.

KOP, a crest, an eminence.

KOPJE, **KOPPJE**, a summit, an eminence (diminutive of *kop* = head), "a little head," hillock, knoll, bare or rounded rock, littered with loose stones and boulders.

KRAAL, a native village, referred (doubtfully) to Port. *corral*, a cattle pen.

KRANS, **KRANTZ**, rocky ridge crowning a hill; lit. a crown, wreath, as *crants* in *Hamlet*, v. i.

LAAGER, a Boer camp. As originally formed, the laager was impregnable to the assegai, but is of course useless against artillery; a square enclosure was formed by the interlocked waggons, with branches of the thorny mimosa wattled in where possible. On one occasion the trekkers posted in such a laager slew three thousand of Dingaan's Zulus, losing only four men themselves.

LANDROST, a land (district) magistrate. See **DROST**.

MORGEN, a land measure of about two acres; is the same word as *morgen*, morning, *i.e.*, roughly, the morning's work

of a plough and team ; cf. Dutch *dagmat*, and mediæval Lat. *diurnalis*, a day's mowing.

OLIFANT, elephant ; several rivers, so called from the pioneers' custom of naming rivers from the animals first seen on their banks.

OP (OPO, OB, IP, EP, EB), river, water, as in *Molopo*, *Gariep*, *Nosop*, etc. (Hottentot)

PLATZ, a place, a plot or farm.

POORT, a gorge or pass through (not over) a range, as in *Komati Poort*, from Lat. *porta*, a gate (Fr. *porte*), but originally a gateway, a passage, and in this sense adopted in the Teutonic tongues ; cf. Ger. *Pforte*, and Eng. *New-port* or "New Gate," in Lincoln.

RAAD, VOLKSRAAD, a council, meeting, national assembly ; cf. Ger. *Rath*, and Old Eng. *ræd*, later *redc*, *read* = *advice*, *to advise*, etc., as in "Therefore I rede beware" (Spenser).

RIXDOLLAR, a coin current in the Cape in colonial times, worth about 1s. 6d. sterling, and divided into eight schillings of a little over 2d. each ; *rix* is a corruption of *Reichs*, "of the empire," as in Ger. *Reichsthaler* = Imperial thaler or dollar.

RONDABEI, RONDDAWEL, a round hut (Free State, Basutoland), most doubtfully referred to Eng. *round hovel* ; is now an outhouse detached from the dwelling, and used as a kitchen.

ROOI, red, from Dutch *roode*, *de* being normally pronounced *ie* ;
' so *goede* = *goeie* (good).

ROOINEK, "Red-neck," in reference originally to some merinos introduced by an English farmer into the Free State, and marked with a red brand on the neck. These were spoken of as *red-necks*—an expression afterwards extended to the English themselves, and then as a term of contempt to the British troops in red uniform.

SALDANIERS, originally the Hottentots of the grassy Saldanha Bay district, who had always plenty of cattle to sell to the

Dutch East India Company's people; later, any native live-stock dealers. See BEACHRANGERS, above.

SAMBOK, SJAMBOK, a long lash of buffalo or hippopotamus hide, used at first for driving the waggon teams on the trek, and afterwards extended to the "apprentices" and the natives generally; from *samba*, buffalo (Hottentot).

SLIM, quick, knowing, sly, "smart"; cf. Ger. *schlimm*, bad, crafty; doubtfully cognate with Old Eng. *slim*, "slime," whence the idea of *muddy*, *slippery*, in the material and moral sense; cf. the slangy "a slippery customer," and "O world, thy slippery turns!" (*Coriolanus*, IV. iv.).

SPRUIT, a gushing brook, or any rapid stream, as in *Kornet Spruit*; cognate with Eng. *spurt*, *sprout*.

STAD, a station, town, as in *Marabastad*; cf. Eng. *stead* (*Hampstead*), and Ger. *Stadt*.

SWAAB, a Swabian, in the sense of a *dolt*, a *blockhead*. *Hes* (see above) and *Swaab* have reference to the immigrants in colonial times, from Hesse and Swabia, regarded by the "slim" burghers as yokels, stupid country louts.

TAAI, Cape Dutch, called by the Netherlanders *Afrikaansch*, as we sometimes speak of "American"; cognate to *tell*; cf. *tale*, Ger. *Zahl*.

TREK, TO TREK, *drag* or *draw*; to *drag* (a waggon with all the household); *i.e.* to migrate to a new settlement.

TREKKER, emigrant farmer on the move.

UITLANDER, *Outlander*, a foreigner generally without full rights of citizenship, but liable to taxation and (illegally) to commandeering and other wrongs, for which there is no redress, because the Chief-Justice is removable at the pleasure of the Volksraad.

UM, river, prefixed as in *Umkomanzi* (Zulu).

VELD—1. Grassy open land, steppe, as in *Hooge Veld*, *Bosch Veld*, etc.; cf. Eng. *field*.

2. A mountain range with more rounded contours than the berg, as in *Nieuwveld*; cf. Eng. *fell*.

VLEY, VLEI, a shallow depression where the rains lodge, and, after evaporation, leave a saline efflorescence ; a saltpan ; cognate to Eng. *valley*.

VOOR-TREKKERS, those who led the van in the Great Trek (1835-38) ; *voor* = Eng. *fore*, as in *forerunner*.

VREJ, VRY, free, as in *Vreijheid*, *Vryburg*.

WET, GRONDWET, law ; "ground law," *i.e.* organic or fundamental law, and collectively the Constitution.

ZARP, a policeman, the police ; a term coined by the English of Johannesburg from the initials Z. A. R. P. on the caps of the local police, standing for *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek Politie*, "South African Republic Police."

ZEEKOE, "sea-cow," *i.e.* hippopotamus, as in the *Zeekoe River* (see p. 185).

THE BOER STATES

CHAPTER I

AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI

The Plateau and Encircling Ranges—The Karroos—The Drakenberg Highlands—Political Divisions—Areas and Populations—The Boer States—General Remarks.

AFRICA south of the Zambesi forms a vast tableland some 1,360,000 square miles in extent, with a probable population of 7,000,000—850,000 Europeans, mainly of British and Dutch stock; 70,000 Asiatics; all the rest aborigines. The tableland has a mean altitude of about 4000 feet, and is buttressed seawards by a great mountain system, which generally follows the contour lines of the continent at distances of from 100 to 250 miles from the coast.

The inner encircling range, which falls through secondary parallel chains, or through

steeply scarped terraces, down to the sea-board, is continuous on the east and south sides facing the Indian Ocean and the Austral waters, and on the west side as far north as the Olifant River. Here the coast ranges,—Bokkeveld, Cedar, and Olifant,—without forming an unbroken rampart, rise to over 6000 feet in some of their peaks, such as the Sneeuw-kop (6100) and the Winter-hoek (6900).

But here the outer scarps have been greatly eroded, and at Cape St. Martin, eighty miles north of the Cape, the ceaseless action of the waves has eaten into the land, completely effacing the old shore-line, and forming the fine but dangerous inlet of St. Helena Bay, where the transport *Ismore* grounded in December 1899, and rapidly went to pieces on the reefs projecting like sharks' teeth above the surface. North of the Olifant River the coast ranges become more fragmentary, and are completely interrupted at the broad gap where the Orange River reaches the Atlantic. Here also the main range is least elevated, presenting in some districts the aspect of low rocky hills almost lost amid the shifting dunes

of the sandy Namaqualand plains. Thus the Kamiesberg, south of the Orange estuary, falls to 4000 feet of absolute elevation—that is, scarcely more than 400 feet above the surrounding plateau.

But from this western range the rise in altitude is continuous through the Roggeveld, the Nieuwveld, the Sneeuwberg, and the Stormberg, which traverse Cape Colony from west to east, round to the Quathlamba (Kathlamba) or Drakenberg range, where the whole system culminates in peaks from 10,000 to over 11,000 feet high, at the converging frontiers of Basutoland, Natal, and the Free State.

The characteristic terrace formations are nowhere so highly developed as in the southwestern parts of Cape Colony, where the space intervening between the outer, central, and inner parallel ranges is everywhere occupied by those dry level plains which, are called karroos (from a Hottentot word meaning arid land), and rise in successive tiers with the increasing altitude of the enclosing escarpments, expanding as they rise. On the maps two only are indicated—the Little and the Great Karroo. But there are in

reality many such upland plains extending from the seaboard right up to the Orange River, though interrupted here and there by small masses of traps, dolerites, and other igneous rocks, which in some places assume the aspect of gigantic natural colonnades. The intervening karroos, which gradually merge in the continental plateau towards the south-western frontiers of the Free State, were in remote times flooded basins, forming shallow marshy lagoons, where swarmed myriads of strange extinct reptiles, unlike any others in the whole world. Although many were of huge size, all appear to have been herbivorous and of amphibious habits, and they lived probably in the triassic or early secondary epoch, when but few mammals and no birds had yet made their appearance on the earth. The dicynodonts, as they are named, were of a generalised type intermediate between the lizard and the turtle, and had long tusks or fangs projecting downwards from the upper jaw, the lower jaw having no teeth.

In the dry season the karroos present the aspect of dreary dusty plains, destitute of any economic value whatever. But there is a

brighter side to the picture, and with the return of the rains the whole scene is almost suddenly changed. The wilderness blossoms into flower, and all the land, which is naturally fertile, becomes carpeted with the characteristic bulbous and other plants of the rich Cape botanical world. Much of this vegetation has adapted itself to its surroundings, and by developing thickened leaves, stems, and roots, is able to contain great stores of moisture. It is thus kept alive beneath the surface during protracted periods of drought, while affording excellent pasturage to sheep and goats during the rainy season.

Beyond the central Sneeuwbergen, whose highest peak, the Compass (9000 feet) is the culminating point of Cape Colony proper, the whole system ramifies into two branches, one running south-eastwards to the coast at the Great Kei River, and rising in the Groot Winterberg to a height of over 7800 feet. The other branch, which forms the water-parting between the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, trends first east then north-east, here taking the name of the Stormbergen, and gradually merging in the Drakenberg

highlands between Basutoland and Kaffraria. In the Mølteno district its northern slopes are highly carboniferous, and the coalfields, which appear to extend a great distance to the north in the direction of Burghersdorp and the Orange, are the chief source of supply for the Cape, and even for the neighbouring Orange Free State, which possesses some small deposits of rather inferior quality in the Kronstad and Heilbron districts.

In Basutoland, the "Switzerland of South Africa," the normal contour-line of the encircling highlands is broken by the Måluti ("Blue"), a secondary range of considerable altitude, which is developed north of and parallel to the Drakenberg. Both chains are connected north-eastwards by a transverse ridge, above which tower the loftiest summits in South Africa—Potong (10,100 feet), Cath-kin or Champagne Castle (10,520), and Hamilton (10,700?). It is the huge table-shaped Potong ("Antelope") to which the French missionaries amongst the Basutos have given the name of Mont aux Sources, because here rise the farthest headstreams of the Tugela, flowing through Natal to the

Indian Ocean, and of the Orange, descending athwart the continent westwards to the Atlantic.

From the northern extremity of the transverse ridge these Alpine heights are continued between Natal and the Free State by another lofty range, which is regarded as a northern extension of the Drakenberg, and is so named, although really continuing the northern trend of the Maluti chain. This section falls to a mean altitude of about 8000 feet, and is pierced by several steep passes practicable for waggon traffic. Of these gaps, which give access from Natal to the Free State, and in the extreme north to Transvaal, the best known going northwards are: the Bezuidenhouts and Tintwa at Mount Tintwa (7500 feet), near the sources of the Tugela; Van Reenens (5500), by which the Natal central railway sends a branch from Ladysmith through Besters to Albertina and Harrismith, on the plateau; De Beers; Cundycleugh; Sunday's River; Mullers; Bothas; and Laing's Nek, at Majuba Hill (7000).

Beyond Natal the escarpments of the plateau again fall to 5000 or 6000 feet, and

assume a somewhat fragmentary character along the eastern border of Transvaal, where they have been subject to much weathering and erosion. Here the spurs and offshoots present in places the aspect of marine headlands, whence the term Kaap, "Cape," applied to the cliffs in one auriferous district. Beyond the Limpopo the system is still continued between Rhodesia and Portuguese territory northwards to the Lower Zambesi. From the inner slopes of the encircling ranges thus roughly outlined the continental plateau stretches away in all directions with little interruption northwards to the Zambesi. It has a total area of about 900,000 square miles, and the tilt of the land being westwards in the south and eastwards in the north, the drainage is almost entirely through the Orange to the Atlantic, and through the Crocodile (Limpopo) and the Zambesi to the Indian Ocean.

Politically the tableland comprises the whole or parts of eight distinct territories, with which, for convenience of reference, in the appended table of areas and populations, is included Natal, although no part of that

Colony extends beyond the encircling range into the plateau.

	Political Divisions.	Area in Sq. Miles.	Population (1891-98).
<i>British Possessions.</i>	Cape Colony, with British Bechuanaland, Griqualand West, and Pondoland, all now incorporated .	277,000	1,766,000
	Bechuanaland Protectorate	213,000	200,000
	Basutoland	10,000	250,000
	Natal, with Zululand and British Tongaland, now incorporated	50,000	1,026,000
	Southern Rhodesia (Matabili and Mashona Lands)	175,000	450,000
<i>Portuguese Territory south of the Zambezi.</i>	Lorenzo Marques (Delagoa Bay, etc.) and Zambesia .	150,000	1,750,000
	<i>German S.-W. Africa</i>	322,000	200,000
<i>Boer States.</i>	South African Republic (Transvaal) with Swaziland	119,000	1,094,000
	Orange Free State	48,000	207,000
	Total	1,364,000	6,943,000

In order the better to understand much that is to follow, the relative positions of these territories should be carefully studied

on the accompanying map. Here the two Boer States are seen to occupy a considerable area—167,000 square miles, or nearly 50,000 more than the whole of the British Isles—in the south-eastern part of the tableland. They are flanked along the entire length of their eastern and southern frontiers by the loftiest sections of the above described seaward escarpments of the plateau, and are consequently accessible from the east and south-east—that is, from the conterminous territories of Natal and Cape Colony, only by difficult mountain passes.

On the other hand, they are entirely open to the north and west, as well as to the south-west, where the frontiers are either purely conventional lines, drawn not by nature but by the hand of the diplomatist, or else river beds, such as those of the Limpopo in the extreme north towards Rhodesia, and the Upper Orange in the extreme south towards Cape Colony. The two Boer States themselves are separated by no physical barriers, but only by the course of the Vaal affluent of the Orange, which, except during the freshets, is pass-

able by "drifts," as the fords are locally called.

There is, however, north of the Vaal, the Witwatersrand ("White Water Ridge"), which is disposed transversely to the enclosing ramparts, and although of no great elevation, forms a distinct water-parting between the Orange and Crocodile basins. The streams rising on its southern slopes—Klip, Mooi, Hart—flow through the Vaal and Orange to the Atlantic; while the Apies, Elands, and Marico reach the Indian Ocean through the Limpopo. But practically the whole region from this river southwards to the Orange forms a single geographical unit, which along the entire length of its western frontier is scarcely anywhere distinguishable from the rest of the continental tableland.

Here the boundary towards Bechuanaland is in fact best indicated by the long line of railway which runs from Cape Town to Buluwayo, and skirts the two Boer States just within the Bechuanaland confines. Between its present terminal stations this line has a total length of 1360 miles, thus

distributed :—Cape Town to De Aar junction, 500; thence to Belmont beyond Hope Town on the Orange, 90; thence to Kimberley, beyond the Modder, 56; thence to Mafeking, 224; thence to Buluwayo, 490. At Gaberones, north of Mafeking, the last section, continuing its northerly course to Rhodesia, runs at some distance to the west of the Transvaal frontier, which here begins to trend rapidly round to the north-east. But from Hope Town to Gaberones, a stretch of 430 miles, the traveller journeying by this line looks east and west without anywhere sighting any conspicuous physical landmark to tell him whether he is traversing British or Boer territory.

It will be further noticed that all the central part of the plateau between the Orange and the Zambesi is occupied by the Bechuanaland Protectorate in the north, and in the south by British Bechuanaland and Griqualand West—that is, the region between the Molopo and the Orange, the whole of which is now incorporated in Cape Colony. The Boer States are thus cut off from further expansion in this direction, and effect can no longer be given

to the project at one time entertained, of joining hands with German South-west Africa across the Kalahari Desert. Similarly, any further extension beyond the Crocodile northwards was arrested by the settlement of Southern Rhodesia, now also proclaimed British territory right up to the Zambesi.

Lastly, the strenuous efforts made by the Transvaal Government to shift its eastern frontier to the coast, so as to obtain an independent outlet to the Indian Ocean, either at the St. Lucia lagoon in Amatongaland, or even, by some arrangement with Portugal, at Delagoa Bay, has resulted only in the annexation of a part of Zululand (Vryheid), and the establishment of complete civil and military control over the kingdom of Swaziland. These two districts lie beyond the plateau, occupying the terraces on the seaward slope of the Randberg,—that is, the northerly extension of the Drakenberg,—but are cut off from the sea itself by the Lobombo range, which here forms the frontier towards British and Portuguese territory—Zululand, Amatongaland, and Delagoa Bay.

This overflow of Boer power beyond the

rim of the plateau may be likened to the side eddies resulting from the clash of two unequal currents. It is obvious that the success of the schemes which aimed at the joint spread of Dutch and Teutonic sway from ocean to ocean, must have had the effect of stemming the stronger British current already setting in the transverse direction from the Cape northwards. It will be seen farther on, that other side eddies—Goshen and Stellaland—were developed on the west (Bechuanaland) side of the South African Republic, but were quickly absorbed in the imperial stream flowing towards the Zambesi, and have left nothing but a name (Vryburg) to recall their fleeting existence.

The broad outcome is that both Boer States have remained geographical and political enclaves on the great continental plateau, severed from all direct access to the sea, and barred from contracting any effective alliances with foreign powers possibly hostile to the British overlordship in South Africa.

CHAPTER II

THE ORANGE FREE STATE

Boundaries—Area—Physical Characters—General Aspect—
The Kopjes—Drainage—The Orange, Vaal, and Modder
Rivers.

ALTHOUGH presenting considerable conformity in their main geographical features, the twin Boer States reveal on closer inspection certain differences, especially in their geological constitution, which have been of paramount importance in their historical development. While the region beyond the Vaal is found to be one of the most highly mineralised in the world, the Free State has hitherto yielded nothing but a few diamonds along its western border, and especially at Jagersfontein towards the southern frontier. No doubt the neighbouring district of Kimberley, where is stored up an apparently inexhaustible supply of these gems, forms geographic-

ally a westward extension of the State. But all claims to this district were withdrawn for an indemnity of £100,000 in 1877, when its value was probably not yet fully understood.

By previous conventions, the boundaries were made to coincide with the Drakenberg towards Natal in the north-east; with the Caledon affluent of the Orange towards Basutoland in the east; with Basutoland in the south-east; with the Orange from Basutoland nearly to Hope Town towards Cape Colony in the south; with a conventional line from Hope Town to Platberg on the Vaal towards Griqualand in the west; and with the Vaal from Platberg nearly to Standerton towards the Transvaal in the north. Within these limits the Free State forms a somewhat irregular oblong, extending about 400 miles in the direction from south-west to north-east, and 200 miles from west to east, with a total area of nearly 50,000 square miles, and is consequently almost exactly the size of England without Wales.

Like the conterminous parts of the central plateau, the Orange State is essentially a steppe land, level or undulating, covered for

the most part with herbage, somewhat dry and in places even bare. Hence it is mainly a vast grazing ground, affording a succulent pasturage for many millions of merino and Cape sheep, goats, horned cattle, and horses, but so ill adapted for tillage that scarcely one-hundredth part of the whole area is under cultivation. Rich agricultural tracts are mainly confined to the banks of the Caledon River, where the land under wheat is increasing, and where the vine and fruit trees also thrive.

But elsewhere, and especially towards the south-western frontier, the country presents an extremely dreary and even desolate aspect, and this character is maintained on both sides of the Orange River below the Caledon confluence. Thus the extensive tract stretching from Kimberley for 150 miles across the river towards De Aar railway junction, may possibly contain vast underground treasures, but on the surface has little to show except a monotonous succession of rugged, waterless, and mostly treeless plains, dotted with boulders, and here and there relieved by the so-called kopjes—rocky, weather-worn knolls or hills,

seldom rising more than 600 or 700 feet above the surrounding land, isolated or in groups, or even forming short detached ridges intersecting the plains at all angles. These eminences are often flat-topped and strewn with boulders of all sizes, which were deposited by unknown (possibly glacial) agencies, but being loose and slippery greatly increase the difficulties of the ascent. Hence the kopjes, which are a highly characteristic feature of South African scenery, may easily be converted into little natural citadels, and are thus admirably suited to Boer methods of warfare. In December 1899 the Spytfontein and Magersfontein ridges were transformed to fortified lines, like those of Torres-Vedras, which long held in check Lord Methuen's column advancing to the relief of Kimberley.

Being flanked east and south by the loftiest sections of the coast ranges, which form a complete divide between the Orange basin and the Indian Ocean, and having a general westward incline, the Free State sends the whole of its drainage through the main stream to the Atlantic. From the

number of tributaries figuring on the maps, and winding in various directions over the steppe, the whole land might seem to be fairly well watered. But it is not so. Nearly all of these tributaries are mere wadys or gullies, which are almost waterless for a good part of the year, and fail to reach the main arteries except during the freshets, which occur at irregular intervals from November to April.

This description applies to some extent even to the Orange itself, which is one of the great arteries of the continent, at least as regards its length, but belongs to the Free State only as a frontier stream in its upper reaches. The name conferred upon it in honour of the house of Orange dates only from the latter part of the eighteenth century, before which time it was known as the Groote-rivier, a literal Dutch translation of the Hottentot Gariep, "Great River." It is formed by the junction of the Senku ("Blackwater"), the Kor-net-spruit, and one or two other mountain torrents, which have their source in the Potong highlands, and after traversing Basuto-land between the Drakenberg and Maluti

ranges, converge in a single channel above Herschel.

Near Bethulie, where it is spanned by the railway from East London, the Orange is joined by the Caledon from the north-east, after which it receives no more direct contributions from the Free State. But through the Vaal, which joins its right bank a few miles beyond the frontier, the Orange receives during the floods all the waters of the steppe rivers—Valsch in the north, Vet with its Sand River branch some miles lower down, and in Griqualand the Modder, which is joined by the Riet ten miles south of Kimberley. It was at this confluence, where the banks are fringed with a natural quickset hedge of bushy willows, that was fought the sanguinary battle of the Modder between Lord Methuen's forces and the Free Staters on 28th November 1899.

Although swollen by all these affluents along a circuitous course of several hundred miles, the Vaal itself reaches the Orange in a very exhausted condition during the dry season between May and October. But during the intermittent rains, the Vaal, that is, the "Gray-water," often rises suddenly many feet above

its normal level, and is then transformed to an imposing stream, tearing away its muddy banks and sending a great volume of turbid swirling waters down to the confluence. Thus it is that none of these steppe rivers are navigable at any time of the year, being too shallow, if not waterless, in the dry, too impetuous in the wet season. Nor will they be of much use for irrigation purposes until proper appliances are introduced for regulating their discharge and husbanding the flood-waters which now run waste. By capturing the intermittent supplies, many upland districts in Cape Colony, which formerly suffered from long droughts, have now an abundance of good water all the year round, and like results may be obtained by an enlightened administration in the Boer States. It has been calculated that by tapping some of the veld streams near their sources, many hundred thousand acres of now arid lands might be brought under cultivation.

CHAPTER III

THE TRANSVAAL: SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Boundaries—Area—Swaziland—Mountain Ranges—General Aspect—The Hooge Veld, Banken Veld, and Bosch Veld—Drainage—The Limpopo and its Transvaal Affluents—Mineral Wealth—The Transvaal Goldfields—The Rand—Prehistoric Prospectors in Transvaal.

A MID a general sameness in the configuration of the land, the region beyond the Vaal differs in some important respects from the Free State. The surface is certainly more rugged and broken, and we can here speak even of "rands," that is, ridges of moderate elevation, which, however, are sometimes high enough to form water-partings, and are otherwise of great interest to the geologist and the political economist.

As at present delimited, the South African Republic, as it is officially designated, presents, like the sister State, the outlines of an irregular

oblong, which is disposed in the same direction from south-west to north-east. But in the north it is truncated by the west to east trend of the Limpopo frontier river; while in the south it develops a crescent, which, following the great bend of the Vaal, presents its concave side to the Free State, overlapping it on both sides.

Including the dependencies of Vryheid and Swaziland, the boundaries of Transvaal proper, as defined by the 1884 Convention and more recent agreements, follow the course of the Limpopo, separating it on the north and north-west from the present territories of Bechuana-land and Rhodesia to its junction with the Limvubu. Westwards the frontier is formed partly by the Marico headstream of the Limpopo, and partly by a conventional line drawn from Gaberones southwards to the Vaal at Platberg. From that point the southern frontier coincides with the Vaal and its Klip headstream as far as Natal, where it follows the upper course of the Buffalo. The northern extremity of Natal thus penetrates like a wedge for some distance between the two Boer States, and this arbitrary arrangement, which resulted

from the annexation of the "New Republic" (Vryheid), has been the subject of much adverse comment.

In 1885 a considerable body of Boer farmers had crossed the Randberg, and established themselves in the northern part of Zululand between that range and the Lobombo coast chain. Here was founded the settlement of Vryheid, as the capital of a little independent state, to which was given the title of the "New Republic," the object being to become eventually incorporated with the Transvaal, and thus to extend its territory in the direction of the Indian Ocean. This object was fully accomplished when Great Britain consented in 1890 to a rectification of the eastern boundary as laid down by the 1884 Convention. The new line was drawn from the Randberg south to the Lobombo range, which was then made the frontier towards British Zululand, with the result that the Natal "wedge" became, in military language, outflanked on both sides, and completely blocked in the north, on the one hand, by Transvaal, on the other, by the Free State, where the frontier coincides with the Drakenberg range. All the northern

parts of the colony, including the valuable coal-fields of the Newcastle district, were thus laid open to invasion from north, east, and west, as was seen on the outbreak of hostilities in 1899.

Towards Portuguese territory the eastern frontier is formed by the Lobombo range northwards to the Limpopo at the Limvubu confluence. From this point to the Vaal at Platberg there is an extreme length of about 500 miles, while a line drawn from Komati Poort (where the Delagoa Bay railway enters Transvaal territory) through Pretoria to the western border near Mafeking will measure nearly 400 miles. With the two eastern dependencies the total area is estimated at a little over 119,000 square miles, or within 2000 square miles of that of the British Isles with all their insular dependencies.

Another surrender, which began with a "compromise," was made by the Imperial Government in 1893, when it agreed to the occupation of the Swazi territory by the Transvaal State. After the proclamation of the New Republic, as above described, the Boer trekkers still continued to push eastwards, their objective being, as in Zululand,

the east coast, either at the Kosi lagoon, or any other suitable outlet on the Indian Ocean. The Swazi district, the invasion of which began about the year 1888, had also some special attractions besides its proximity to the sea, for it was known to be well mineralised, and to abound in rich grazing-grounds. The native State, which has an area of some 3000 square miles, with a population estimated at over 80,000, lies entirely in the trough or terrace between the Randberg and the Lombombo coast range. Here the Barapuzza people, under their chief, Swazi, revolted from their Zulu oppressors, and set up for themselves in the year 1843. It was then that, in accordance with the custom of all the Zulu-Xosa nations, the Barapuzza became Ama-Swazi, that is, "Swazi's people," by which name they have since been known. Somewhat later, their king, Umbandine, was induced to throw open the country, and grant concessions to white settlers to work the goldfields, receiving in return substantial royalties, by which he amassed considerable wealth. But the Boer intruders now became so aggressive that he was fain to ask for pro-

tection from the British Government, which had already recognised and guaranteed the independence of the Swazi State by the Convention of 1884^o with Transvaal. Its autonomy was even reaffirmed by another Convention (1890), by which the king was to enjoy complete control over his own subjects, and in all strictly native affairs. But by a special arrangement, all the white settlers, mainly British and Dutch, were withdrawn from his authority and placed under the joint jurisdiction of the Imperial and Transvaal Governments. At the same time the Boers obtained the right to construct a railway through Swaziland to the coast at Kosi Bay, a right, however, of which they have not hitherto made any use, probably because such a line would have to run between British and Portuguese Tongaland to a point on the sea-board destitute of a good harbour and exposed to the full fury of the eastern monsoons. In any case, the whole arrangement, always looked upon as a temporary stop-gap, came to an end in 1893, when Swaziland and its people, despite solemn pledges to the contrary, were practically surrendered to the Transvaal

authorities. No doubt the dual control was next year extended for a few months, and several Swazi chiefs were at the same time received by the Queen at Windsor. But in 1895 the 1893 Convention was ratified by the Volksraad without the consent of the natives, and this action was followed by a Boer commando, which in 1898 crossed the frontier without protest from England, deposed King Bunu, who had refused to submit, and set up the Queen as nominal chief of the Swazi nation. Since then the Transvaal authorities have taken over the management even of native affairs, and Swaziland is now (1900) an integral part of the Boer State.

Between the Natal frontier and the Olifant (Lipalule) affluent of the Limpopo, the northern extension of the Drakenberg, here called the Randberg, assumes the aspect of a somewhat broken range from 5000 to 6000 feet high. In the Kaap mineral district it is traversed by the Delagoa Bay - Pretoria railway, a little north of which it culminates in the Mauchberg (8725 feet), highest point in Transvaal, and falls everywhere precipitously down to the parallel Lobombo range—that

is, the outer rim of the plateau running at a height of 3000 feet between Transvaal and the Portuguese territory of Delagoa Bay.

The Mauchberg, which perpetuates the memory of the German traveller, Mauch, who first detected the presence of gold in the exposed quartz reefs of the neighbouring Kaap and Barberton districts, is flanked east and south by several conspicuous peaks, such as the Spitskop (5637 feet), the Klipstad (6020), and Holnek (5600). But north of the Olifant River the Randberg loses the character of a distinct mountain range, merging in a broad expanse of moderately elevated uplands, and throwing off a number of low ridges, such as the Murchison Rand and the Zoutpansberg ("Salt-pan Chain,"), which run east and west transversely to the main range between the Olifant and Limpopo rivers in the north-eastern parts of the Republic.

The same direction is followed by the numerous central and south-western rands—Dwarsberg, Marikale, Hanglip, Waterberg, and Blauberger in the north; Maquassie, Gat, Witwater, and Magalies in the south—which, although rising here and there to absolute

heights of from 4000 to 5000 feet, stand scarcely anywhere more than a few hundred feet above the surrounding plateau. Hence these rugosities detract little from the aspect of a level or gently-rolling upland plain almost everywhere presented by the Transvaal between the eastern Randberg and the western frontier, where it merges in the Bechuanaland steppe.

But in this vast expanse of apparently uniform undulating plains, geographers distinguish three natural divisions, which present considerable differences in their general relief, their climatic and economic conditions. These are severally named the Hooë Veld, the Banken Veld, and the Bosch Veld, where the term veld ("field") has somewhat the force of open, treeless, or, at most, scrubby country, as opposed to forest or woodlands.¹

The Hooë Veld ("High-fields," in the sense of uplands) comprise the southern tracts drained by the Vaal, together with the eastern

¹ Such was also its meaning in Early English, as we see from the *Ormulum* (thirteenth century)—line 14,568 :

"Wude and feld and dale and dun
All was i waterr sunnken."

highlands between Natal and the Olifant River, standing at an elevation of from 5000 to 7000 feet, with an area of some 35,000 square miles. Here is prime pasture, much arable land, and untold mineral wealth.

In the Banken Veld ("bank or terraced fields") is comprised the low eastern zone between the Randberg and Loboimbo ranges, which falls in many places down to a level of 2000 or 3000 feet, and has an area of from 15,000 to 20,000 square miles. Within this zone are included the two outlying districts of Vryheid and Swaziland, where there are also good grazing-grounds and some gold-bearing reefs. Much of the interior comes under the somewhat vague designation of the Banken Veld, to which is also applied the expression Gebroken Veld, used in the same sense as the English broken ground. It thus indicates those parts of the steppe which are intersected by low ranges of hills, generally running in the direction from east to west, but in some places having a north-east and south-west trend. Within the Banken Veld is certainly included more than half of the whole region.

By the Bosch Veld is commonly under-

stood the northern region, especially in the Limpopo valley, where the land falls to 2000 or 3000 feet, or even less, above sea-level. It is essentially the hot, moist, and unhealthy zone of woodlands which afford cover for most of the large game still found in the country. Here still survive the elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo, as well as the lion and leopard, while the hippopotamus and crocodile abound, especially in the lower reaches of the Limpopo. Here is also the true home of the Vaalpens, 'most degraded of all the South African aborigines. •

The soil may be described as naturally fertile, and where water is available would yield heavy crops with artificial irrigation. Throughout the whole of the Bosch Veld the ground is clothed with herbage during the whole year, and in the dry winter months, when all vegetation withers up on the Hooge Veld, the farmers drive their flocks and herds down to those parts of the Bosch Veld which are still covered with fresh grasses, and are not infested by the deadly tsetse fly.

The occurrence in many districts of fossil

aquatic remains, of extensive sandy wastes and water-worn shingle, supports the view that most of the land is an upheaved lacustrine basin, which has been drained mainly through the Limpopo eastwards to the Indian Ocean, and through the Vaal and other affluents of the Orange westwards to the Atlantic.

Between these two fluvial systems lies the Witwatersrand, which, despite its low elevation compared with the eastern Randberg, is thus seen to be the true water-parting of the country. In fact, neither the Randberg nor the Drakenberg forms a hydrographic divide between the two oceans, these ranges being pierced by several streams, such as the Limpopo, its Olifant tributary, and the Tugela, which rise on the plateau or on the landward slopes, and force their way through the intervening mountain barriers on their seaward course. The Tugela, the great waterway of Natal, has its source, like that of the Orange, in the Potong heights, and on its passage through the rocky gorges of the Drakenberg develops a prodigious waterfall 1800 feet high.

Rising near Ermelo on the western slope of the Rāndberg, the already described frontier river Vaal flows in its upper course, under the name of the Klipstopel Spruit, for a considerable distance entirely through Transvaal territory. Here, with the alternating seasons, it is little more than a swift upland torrent or a waterless wady. At the point where it takes the character of a border stream it is joined on its left bank by the Klip rivulet, which descends from the Majuba heights, and is also a border stream between the two States from its source to the confluence.

Although quite 20,000 square miles of Transvaal territory belongs physically to the Vaal basin, the Vaal itself receives scarcely any further contributions from this extensive tract throughout its whole course of some 450 miles from its source in the Wakkerstroom district to its confluence with the Orange. Even the Hart, which is its largest northern affluent, does not reach the right bank of the Vaal until it has quitted Boer territory and traversed Griqualand West for some distance beyond the frontier.

Apart from the Usutu and a few other coast streams, which have their sources in Vryheid or Swaziland, all the other running waters find their way to the Indian Ocean through the Limpopo, which next to the Orange is the largest watercourse south of the Zambesi. It has also the rare distinction of being navigable, as was first shown by Capt. G. A. Chaddock, who in 1884 steamed for 340 miles up to the Pafuri (Limvubu) confluence, where it enters Portuguese territory. But the Chaddock expedition was perhaps somewhat in the nature of a *tour de force*, for it has not been followed by others, and for all practical purposes the Limpopo would appear to be accessible to steamers of moderate draft for little more than fifty or sixty miles from the coast. In any case, all navigation is arrested at the Tolo Azime rapids, some distance above the point reached by Capt. Chaddock.

From its source near Johannesburg, the Limpopo flows first north, piercing the Magaliesberg a little west of Pretoria, and then describes a great bend of about one thousand miles to its junction with the Limvubu,

receiving along this section of its course numerous 'affluents on both sides. From the Rhodesian uplands descends the Shashi, which with its numerous headstreams drains a large part of the Matoppo range, and joins the main stream below Fort Tuli. From the south comes the historical Marico, the only river in Transvaal which reaches its left bank. All the others—Apies, Matlabas, Pongola, Nyl, Olifant—join the right bank and represent a total drainage area of about 90,000 square miles. People sometimes wonder how the Nyl (Nylstroom, "Nile") came to wander so far south. But the explanation is that the early Boër trekkers who first reached its banks, finding it flowing steadily north, concluded that it was the Egyptian Nile, which by following its course would lead them straight to the Promised Land.

From the above description of the Bosch Veld it must be obvious that until artificial irrigation is largely developed, agricultural interests must, as in the Free State, continue to play a very subordinate part in the national economy. But meantime Transvaal possesses

in her boundless mineral treasures an inexhaustible source of wealth, of which her southern neighbour is almost entirely destitute.

Amongst these treasures, gold, of course, takes the foremost place, at least at present. But other minerals are also found in extraordinary variety and abundance. Amongst them are lead, sulphur, cobalt, saltpetre, diamonds, iron, copper, and coal, the last three being widely distributed. The Yzerberg, "Iron Mountain," near Marabastad, which is now reached by rail from Pretoria, consists of a huge mass of exceedingly rich iron ore, which has been smelted and wrought into divers implements by the natives from time out of mind.

It appears that the rich coalfields of the Newcastle district in the northern part of Natal extend northwards far into the upper Vaal basin, and are already largely used as fuel both for the locomotive and by the Boer farmers for domestic purposes. Like that of Newcastle, the Transvaal coal is of good quality, burning with a clear flame and leaving little or no ash.

No gold was known to exist in Transvaal

before the year 1854, when a few grains were picked up on the Witwatersrand. But through a not unnatural dread of an irruption of alien prospectors, the very mention of the subject was made a capital offence. Hence mining operations were delayed for many years, and the first workings, which had poor results, date only from 1881.

Meantime fresh discoveries continued to be made, especially in the southern Hooë Veld, from the sources of the Vaal to the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom, and since 1885 the industry has acquired a colossal development. From the subjoined table of the chief mining centres, it will be seen that gold-bearing reefs of varying richness occur almost everywhere :—

LYDENBURG, west of the Mauchberg.

DE KAAP, south of the Mauchberg ; chief town, Barberton.

KOMATI, east of De Kaap ; chief towns, Komati Poort
(frontier railway station towards Delagoa Bay), Eureka.

WITWATERSRAND, or simply "The Rand," a ridge or chain
of hills south of the Magaliesberg, richest of all ; chief
towns, Johannesburg, Boksburg, and Elsburg.

KRUGERSDORP and RUSTENBURG, west of Pretoria.

ROODEPOORT, in Heidelberg district, south of Pretoria.

SCHOONSPRUIT, in the Potchefstroom district, south-west of
Johannesburg.

ROODERAND, same district, on north bank of the Vaal.

MALMANCE, in the Marico district, north-east of Gaberones.

MARABASTAD, north of Lydenburg.

HONTBOSCHBERG, same district, at the village of Haenest-
• burg.

MURCHISON HILLS, north of the Olifant River.

ZOUTPANSBERG, north of Marabastad.

SWAZILAND, various districts between the Randberg and
Lobombo ranges.

In 1886 the first lots were “pegged out” on the Rand, and a few shanties run up on the site of Johannesburg, which, before the exodus on the outbreak of hostilities in 1899, had already become the largest city in Africa south of the Zambesi, with a population variously estimated at from 110,000 to 130,000. Yet not more than 5000 or 6000 acres of some 150,000 comprised in the concessions have yet been worked, so far without any sign of exhaustion.

The Main Reef, which traverses the Rand, for a length of thirty miles, consists of an auriferous conglomerate, which is easily worked, and is locally called *banket*.¹ It is decomposed

¹ So called from its resemblance to the “almond rock” sweetmeat. In the banket reefs the proportion of gold varies from mere traces to six or eight ounces per ton.

in four or five parallel lodes, which run close together, and were at one time distributed amongst as many as three hundred concessionaires.

But the allotments have always been the subject of much speculation, and are often bought like funds in the money market, not to be worked, but to be sold again on the first favourable opportunity. Such speculation naturally results in occasional falls, such as the crisis of 1892, when several small holders had to suspend payment or were bought out by large capitalists. Much depression has no doubt also been caused by government monopolies, such as that of the dynamite which is required for blasting purposes, and the heavy charges for which can be met only by companies working in a large way. Hence the closing of many small mines would appear to be due to the failure, not of lodes, but of capital.

So much may perhaps be inferred from the amazing increase in the output from year to year, as shown in the subjoined table of the gold winnings for the whole of Transvaal between the years 1884 and 1897 :¹—

¹ Statesman's Year Book, 1899, p. 1005.

Year.	Value.	Year	Value.
1884 . . .	£10,696	1892 . . .	£4,541,071
1885 . . .	6,010	1893 . . .	5,480,498
1886 . . .	34,710	1894 . . .	7,667,152
1887 . . .	169,401	1895 . . .	8,569,555
1888 . . .	967,416	1896 . . .	8,603,821
1889 . . .	1,490,568	1897 . . .	11,476,260
1890 . . .	1,869,645		<u>£53,810,508</u>
1891 . . .	2,929,305		

A good idea of the present productiveness of the several districts is obtained from the details of the enormous 1897 yield, which was thus distributed:—Witwatersrand, £10,583,616; De•Kaap, £398,902; Lydenburg, £178,296; Klerksdorp (Schoonspruit), £296,733; Zoutpansberg, £791; Swaziland and sundries, £17,922.

The little area of a few thousand acres traversed by the Main Reef of the Witwatersrand is thus seen to take rank for its golden harvests with the great auriferous regions of the world—Australia, British North America, the United States, and Siberia.

Since 1894, silver, copper, and lead have not been worked; but tin has been discovered in Swaziland, and the area of the coal measures has been extended to the Rand and several

other goldfields. Altogether the surveys, largely confirmed by the test of experience, place Transvaal in the forefront of metalliferous lands.

Surprise is often expressed that of this wonderful auriferous region nothing should have been known in modern times till about the middle of the nineteenth century. But it is to be remembered that, although the Portuguese had at least a temporary station at Lorenzo Marques on Delagoa Bay, and others of a more permanent character at Inhambane, Sofala, and Beira, they never attempted to ascend the pestiferous valley of the Lower Limpopo.

Nor are they known to have penetrated into any part of the interior much farther south than the Manica district in East Mashonaland. Here they rediscovered some of the old mines, reports of which they had heard from the Arabs at Sofala. But they never extended their explorations eastwards to the Matabili goldfields, although it now appears that they may have rediscovered those of the Transvaal, which were perhaps also known to and worked by the ancient Himyarites or other Semitic peoples from South Arabia. In any case, the

fact that extensive mining operations were here carried on in former times has been established beyond question by the researches of Mr. J. M. Stuart, who tells us that he came upon the remains of old workings south of the Limpopo, "showing that centuries ago mining was practised on a most extensive scale, that vast quantities of ore had been worked, and that by engineers of a very high order. I found quarries, tunnels, shafts, adits, the remains of well-made roads, and also pits of ore on the site of these old roads, apparently ready to be put into waggons. This ore was piled with as much regularity as if it had been placed for strict measurement, and it would seem as if these workings had been abandoned precipitately by the miners. I found, in one instance, that a gallery had been walled up with solid masonry; I was unable to remove the wall, as it was on a farm not at that time under government control. The native tribes, so far as I could ascertain by diligent inquiry, knew nothing as to who these ancient miners were, and have no traditions regarding them. I prefer to attribute these workings to the Portuguese, who are historically known to have had

many trading possessions, and to have gained much gold in this section in the seventeenth century. My reasons for so attributing these workings is that they were acquainted with the use of gunpowder. But whether even a more ancient people, such as the Phœnicians, or whether the Portuguese did this work, is immaterial; the fact remains, and is open to all who will visit the country, that mining on a very extensive scale was carried on by some nation in the past.”¹

It may here be incidentally remarked that some indirect evidence has lately been advanced in support of the late Theodore Bent's view, that the remarkable ruins found in association with mining operations at Zimbabwe near Victoria in Matabililand, are to be attributed to the ancient peoples of South Arabia. During their voyages in the neighbouring waters, these old navigators must necessarily have discovered the large island of Madagascar.

Indeed, it is now quite clear that they had formed settlements on the island, or at least established trading and other relations with

¹ Report on the Farm, Lisbon, 1883.

its inhabitants. Most of the Arabic words in the Malagasy language are found on analysis to belong, not to the relatively later Arabic of the Koran, but to the far more ancient Arabic which was spoken in pre-Mohammedan times all over Southern Arabia. Thus, to give one instance, the Malagasy names of the days of the week are all borrowed from this archaic form of the Semitic speech recovered from the rock inscriptions of Arabia Felix (Yemen), as may be seen by the following comparisons:—

	Sunday.	Monday.
Malagasy . . .	Alahady	Alatsinainy
Ancient Arabic . .	Al-áhadu	Al-itsnáni
Later Arabic . . .	El-áhad	El-etnén

The probability is thus increased that some at least of the old workings in the Transvaal goldfields described by Mr. Stuart may be credited to these Sabæans and Minæans, whose records vie in antiquity with those of Egypt and Babylonia, and who are here shown to have had relations with the neighbouring lands thousands of years ago.

CHAPTER IV

CLIMATE AND FLORA

Climatic Relations of the Plateau and Surrounding Lands—
Marine and Aërial Currents—Distribution of Moisture—
Table of Temperatures and Rainfall—General Salubrity
—Flora—Agricultural Prospects.

OF the factors by which the climate of a country is determined, the more important are :—1. Latitude—distance from the pole or equator ; 2. Altitude—elevation above sea-level, by which latitude is often neutralised ; 3. Atmospheric and marine currents, setting from warm, cold, dry, or wet quarters ; 4. Mountain ranges, which may deflect aërial currents, intercept rain-bearing clouds, and in various other ways modify the normal conditions ; 5. Aspect, soil, distance from the sea, and lie of the land, which may be more or less exposed to the solar rays, to hot or bleak winds or marine breezes, or to

malaria from low-lying marshy depressions, and so on. .

All these factors have in varying degrees affected the climate of the continental plateau, and consequently also of the region between the Orange and the Limpopo. Stretching from about 22° to 30° S. lat., this region penetrates only at its northern extremity beyond the tropic of Capricorn into the torrid zone, and from its position should therefore be mainly a sub-tropical land. But it stands at a mean altitude of at least 4000 feet above the sea, and consequently has a lower temperature than would otherwise be the case.

The prevailing marine currents are, on the east side, the warm Mozambique stream, which flows from the Indian Ocean round the seaboard all the way to False Bay, and on the west side the cold Antarctic polar stream, which sets steadily northwards, but passes west of the Cape of Good Hope. To these correspond the aerial currents, which are mainly warm and moist on the east, cool and dry on the west side.

But it has been seen that the encircling escarpments are highest on the east (Basuto-

land and Natal), lowest or practically non-existent on the west side, the plateau stretching with little interruption from the Drakenberg and Randberg heights across the mainland to the Atlantic Ocean. Hence the cold Antarctic currents and winds have here full play, and make their influence felt all over the continental tableland, while the warm rain-bearing trade-winds from the Indian Ocean are largely intercepted by the eastern Alpine ranges.

It now becomes easy to understand why the rainfall increases steadily eastwards, from the almost rainless zone of Namaqualand (2 to 4 in.) through the Kalahari Desert and Bechuanaland (8 to 16 in.) to the Boer States (16 to 24 in.) down to Natal (24 to 44 in.), and why Natal itself, despite its somewhat higher latitude, is almost a tropical region compared with the neighbouring Free State and Transvaal. The relations in this respect are much the same as in Australia, where the loftiest ranges lie also on the east side, and by capturing the moist Pacific trade-winds leave the rest of the continent to a large extent a waste of sand and scrub. The con-

trast between the sugar plantations, the orange groves, and maize fields of Natal, and the grassy steppes of the "Over-berg"—that is, the Boer lands beyond the mountains—is violent, but fully accounted for by the physical conditions of the environment.

But the central plateau, remote or shut off from the moderating effects of the soft marine breezes, and exposed in summer to the hot winds sweeping down from the equatorial regions, is on the whole both colder and hotter than the lands round the periphery facing seawards. In other words, the climate is what is called "continental," that is, subject to greater extremes of temperature than regions exposed to marine influences. But being at the same time drier, the inland climate, if less equable, is quite as healthy as that of Cape Colony, and superior in this respect to Natal.

In the subjoined comparative table of the climatological relations in the four chief South African capitals, it will be noticed that, while Pretoria has a much higher summer temperature than Pietermaritzburg, its rainfall is considerably lower; and the contrast is still

greater with Durban, which, being on the coast, has a yearly rainfall of, from 40 to 44 inches. Hence, greater heat is here compensated by less moisture, with the result that

Towns	S. lat.	Altitude.	Temperature.		Rain-fall.
			Mean.	Mean of Extremes.	
Pretoria . .	25° 45'	4300 ft.	67° F.	40°-104°	24 in.
Bloemfontein .	28° 56'	4550 „	62° „	41°- 94°	24 „
Cape Town .	34° 12'	40 „	62° „	40°- 91°	27 „
Pietermaritzburg	29° 30'	2100 „	63° „	32°- 95°	32 „
Kimberley .	28° 45'	4000 „	62° „	40°-105°	16 „

both Transvaal and the Free State are exceptionally salubrious lands, well suited for European settlement.

Even the De Kaap and Barberton gold-fields, which at first bore a bad reputation, are now found to be "exceptionally salubrious. There may be occasional cases of fever in the town, but they have found their beginning beyond the boundaries of Barberton. There is no fever in the town proper, and little or no other sickness. Medical men have little or no work to do. They flocked to the place

thinking to coin money out of fever patients ; for a livelihood they either flitted, had to become scrip-sellers, or turn their hand to hard toil. The gravedigger also, finding his occupation unprofitable, threw it up in disgust, and took to digging for gold.”¹

But this general picture needs qualification in some respects, and there are drawbacks due to local causes, which make several districts, and especially a great part of the Limpopo valley, at present scarcely suitable for permanent settlement. Intermittent or malarious fevers are endemic along the low-lying marshy banks of the river, which is also infested by the tsetse fly from its mouth nearly up to the Bechuanaland frontier. The natives themselves enjoy no immunity from ague, to which whites born in the country are said to be more liable than European immigrants.

But the statement has been questioned, and in any case both of the Boer States are for the most part singularly free from endemics and epidemics. Against the general salubrity of Transvaal appeal has been

¹ E. P. Mathers, *The Goldfields Revisited*, Durban, 1888.

made to the high death-rate of Johannesburg, which in recent years has ranged from 40 to 50 per 1000; whereas that of Durban, built on a mangrove swamp in a humid climate, has fallen as low as 17 or 18 per 1000. But this astonishing contrast is due, not to climate, but to attention to hygienic principles in the Natal seaport, and to the primitive ideas regarding public sanitation hitherto prevalent in the Transvaal municipality.

The contrast is even more striking between the rich florae of Natal and Cape Colony and the scanty herbaceous or scrubby vegetation of the Boer States. This, however, is due to natural causes, which may be modified but never entirely removed by the hand of man. When the rain falls on the seaward slopes of the encircling uplands, "the open valleys and the deeper kloofs become as by magic carpeted with wild flowers. Pelargoniums grow in thick masses middle-high beneath the rocky walls. Irises, gladioli, amaryllids, and other bulbous flowers star the earth; heath, orchids, strelitzias, cotyledons, heliophilas, hibiscus — all these and a hundred others lend beauty to the

valleys or the hill-slopes. Flowering shrubs abound."¹

Compare this glowing picture with the aspect of the vegetable world on the Hooge Veld, where the dominant forms are thorny acacias, euphorbias, mimosas, and other scrubby growths. The eye sweeps over vast grassy plains or gentle rising grounds, and lights on nothing but a few clumps of low shadeless trees marking the sites of the Boer farmsteads, which are dotted at long intervals over the steppe, affording here and there a little relief to the monotonous landscape.

Many parts of the African savannahs, which so greatly predominate over the woodlands, have been compared to the English park lands, where the undulating surface is clothed with soft verdure, interspersed with clusters of tall, wide-branching trees, and traversed by gently rippling brooks. But such pleasant visions are mainly confined to the strictly intertropical regions of the Ogoway, the Congo and its great northern affluents, and the general appearance of the continental

¹ Bryden, *Nature and Sport in South Africa*.

plateau south of the Zambesi, the Boer lands included, must be pronounced distinctly monotonous.

Herbaceous forms greatly predominate, yielding extremely succulent pasturage during the wet summer months, but mostly parched in the dry winter season. In fact, arboreal growths, here characteristically called "bush," are mainly confined to the spruits, or river valleys, where the steppe streams are often densely fringed with willows, yellow-wood, iron-wood, the wild fig (in the deeper gorges), and especially the thorny mimosa.

On the other hand, the soil is naturally fertile, and wherever the plough can penetrate, the husbandman is well rewarded for his labour. "Some districts yield two annual crops of cereals, including some of the finest wheat in the world. Tobacco, the vine, and most European fruits and vegetables thrive well; and colonial produce, such as sugar, coffee, and cotton, might be successfully cultivated in the valley of the Limpopo, whose middle course lies within the torrid zone."¹ But not more than 50,000 acres, an in-

¹ A. H. Keane, *Africa*, ii. p. 303.

infinitesimal fraction of the available arable area, have as yet been brought under cultivation, and the consequence is that the farm produce is insufficient for the local demands.

CHAPTER V

FAUNA

Tsetse and Locust Pests—Disappearance of Big Game—
Preserves—Domestic Animals—The Basuto Horse—
Statistics of Live Stock—Hottentot Herds and Flocks.

HERE is, therefore, a great field for future agricultural enterprise, which, as would seem, will not even be arrested by the tsetse pest. On the contrary, there are indications that, like and with the big game, this winged poison disappears with the progress of human culture.

On the south (Transvaal) side of the Limpopo the infested zone ranges from eight or ten to perhaps eighty miles from the river banks, and that is the reason why explorers before venturing into this deadly tract have to outspan, and send back their teams of oxen, their horses, and all other domestic animals which succumb to the fatal puncture,

from which, strange to say, man himself enjoys absolute immunity. In these districts the sagacious elephant is said to be well aware of the protection thus afforded against pursuit by mounted hunters. Hence these animals "often take refuge in the riverine tracts along the course of the Limpopo, where the sportsman can follow them only on foot, or else mounted on horses with a shaggy coat thick enough to prevent the sting from piercing the hide.

"It is commonly supposed that the pestiferous insect will disappear from the country together with the large game, especially the buffalo and certain species of antelopes, with which it is always found associated. Travellers mention certain districts from which the dreaded tsetse has already been driven, and the belief seems justified that this winged pest retreats with the advance of the plough. Hence the increase of population and the development of agriculture will probably one day enable civilised man to introduce domestic animals into the Limpopo valley."¹

Another winged pest, perhaps even more

¹ Reclus, English ed., xiii. p. 208.

to be dreaded, is the locust, which sometimes rolls in dense clouds over the plateau, consuming all verdure, and, like a prairie fire, leaving nothing in its wake except a clean-swept waste. "Seated beneath the shade of his waggon, on the banks of the Vaal, the traveller Mohr observed on the south-western horizon what looked like great volumes of smoke, but from its yellowish hue was at once recognised by the natives as the all-devouring locust. They began to fall, first a few at a time, then in dozens, and presently by thousands and myriads. They came in such vast clouds as to darken the heavens, so that through all the moving mass you were able to look straight at the sun, which, though at its zenith, became dulled and beamless as when visible in a London fog. Flocks of locust-eaters incessantly assailed this surging sea of insect life, but their numbers were infinite, countless as the sands of the desert. Far and wide the whole land was filled with them; the waters of the Vaal, covered with their bodies, assumed a grey-yellow colour, and the garden of the neighbouring farmstead was in a few minutes left

bare and leafless. Yet the Boer and his household sat with the composure of Turks, outwardly impassive or indifferent, because powerless to oppose the devouring scourge.

"Nothing can check their onward march. If their path is crossed by a stream, they rush headlong in, gradually filling up its bed, until a dry bridge is formed of their bodies for the myriads pressing on from behind. Where they fall on suitable soil they lay their eggs, so that with the next rainy season multitudes of wingless creatures creep out of the ground and hop away, consuming all vegetation along their track. Such young broods the Boers expressively call *footloopers* ('foot-runners'), and those on the wing *springlaans*. Horses, oxen, sheep, and goats devour them greedily. To the elephant and other large herbivorous wild beasts they seem to afford a dainty meal, while the natives collect them in heaps and eat them dried and roasted."¹

Thus there is compensation for the widespread ruin, and the experiments made in Cyprus since the British occupation, show that this plague also may be successfully combated.

¹ *To the Zambezi Falls*, i. p. 114 sq.

Before the advent of the white man, the characteristic African fauna—elephant, rhinoceros, giraffe, lion, leopard, hyena, zebra, buffalo, baboon, hippopotamus, crocodile, ostrich, antelope in endless variety, from the diminutive gazelle and striped koodoo to the large-boned eland—ranged freely over the whole land, unimpeded by any impassable mountain barriers. Hence most of these animals, with others such as the gnu, springbok, and now nearly extinct white rhinoceros and quagga, peculiar to the south, swarmed also on the continental plateau, and were familiar sights to the early Dutch emigrant farmers when they first climbed the encircling escarpments of the great tableland.

But since then the Gordon Cummings, the Selous, the Andersons, and many other modern Nimrods have been running riot in this inviting field, while in the Boer States the work of destruction has been all but completed by the Dutch settlers themselves. After exterminating most of the big game in their own territory, they took more than their share in running them down elsewhere; nor were their operations carried out with

much more regard for the laws of the sport than was observed in the ruthless destruction of the bison in North America.

Dr. A. Schulz tells us how a certain Van Zyl entrapped and did to death no less than one hundred and twenty elephants in the Kubango Valley. Waiting for them to approach the river to drink, and thus catching them while thirsty, he ordered his outriders to take up the chase one by one, relieving each other in turns, and keeping up the hunt with fresh horses, until all were brought to a standstill in a dried-up vley or saltpan overgrown with reeds. Here the already tired and thirsty beasts were kept trampling round and round in a ring, without a shot being fired, until they could go no farther. "He then sat down and deliberately shot the whole lot, who were now too tired to attempt to escape, and, cutting out the ivory, loaded up the waggon, taking the road home by the lake."¹

The early travellers, Barrow, Le Vaillant, and others, speak of prodigious numbers of antelopes, especially the gnu and graceful

¹ *The New Africa*, 1897, p. 344.

springbok, scouring over the plains, and migrating in herds of ten thousand or fifteen thousand and even more, from pasture to pasture between the Cape and the then unknown northern wilderness beyond the mountains. Now all or nearly all are gone, with the quagga, the white rhinoceros, and the elephant, while the lion has become dumb at the new order of things, or else is scared from his wonted midnight haunts by the glare of the gaslights in the streets of Kimberley and Buluwayo.

Many other species would also soon disappear but for the public and private enclosures, where they are carefully preserved. It stands to the credit of some of the Boer farmers that they keep up such natural menageries through pure affection for these creatures, which soon learn to trust their kindly master, recognising that their safety depends on keeping within bounds. At Piet Grobelaar's St. Helena farm, fourteen miles from Ermelo in Transvaal, a plot of land called the "wild kraal" has been set apart for some herds of springbok and blesbok, and these grounds are never encroached

upon on any pretext whatever. When the animals stray too far afield, one or two are shot, as an object lesson to the others, which at once scurry back to this natural "sanctuary," where safety lies.

These inhabitants of the open steppe have learned to adapt themselves to their waterless environment. Even the domestic animals can endure thirst for two or three days without inconvenience, while some of the antelope tribe scarcely seem to drink at all. Another protective adaptation would appear to be the backward growth of the horns in the sable antelope and the Harris buck. Schulz assures us that the lion never dares to attack these species from behind, having learned from experience to avoid the backward thrust of their sharp defensive weapons. "These and hornless game, such as the quagga, they seize in front by the nose, and drag down to destruction, while the oryx antelope, with his straight horns capable of acting both behind and before, is the most formidable animal the lion can attack" (*op. cit.*, p. 117).

The Limpopo is still infested by the

hippopotamus, which had disappeared from the upper Orange basin in remote times. The wildebeest, gnu, and other antelopes also still roam the less settled parts of Transvaal. But in both of the Boer States most of the wild fauna have already been replaced by domestic animals of economic value—horned cattle, sheep, goats, horses, swine, and poultry.

On the whole, the Free State is more suited for stock farming than its northern neighbour, which can show nothing comparable to the merino sheep and the horses bred on the grassy plains south of the Vaal. The horses especially, which have a strong strain of Basuto blood, and are consequently somewhat under-sized, make excellent mounts, and from this source the Transvaal burghers draw most of their supplies. Like the Scotch and Welsh ponies, those of the rugged Basuto uplands are sure-footed as goats, bounding from rock to rock with surprising agility. A band of mounted Basuto warriors will sweep at a break-neck pace down a mountain side, and then pull up suddenly on the level, like European cavalry on parade.

For their peculiar tactics, the Boers, who are all really mounted infantry, are well served by their hardy little Basuto half-breeds, with which they are able to move in small detachments rapidly over rough ground which is almost impassable by regular British horse. Hence, when out on their raiding excursions, looting farmsteads and lifting cattle over the hill tracks, they are as difficult to capture as were the Scottish predatory bands in the olden times. In such guerilla warfare their most formidable opponents are the highly efficient local (Cape and Natal) light cavalry.

But in South Africa domestic animals are not only sensitive to the attacks of tsetse, but are also subject to various highly contagious diseases—horse-sickness, rinderpest—which at times can be stamped out only by the sacrifice of the herds over wide areas. Until some less drastic remedies can be found to mitigate the evil, stock-breeding must continue to be regarded as a somewhat risky enterprise in the regions south of the Zambesi.

Hence it is satisfactory to know that these disorders have been for some time the subject of scientific study by Dr. Edington, who is in

charge of the Bacteriological Institute at Graham's Town, in Cape Colony. At this establishment a long series of experiments have been carried out, both with horses and cattle, although the results so far cannot be described as altogether satisfactory.

Meantime the latest returns (1890), as tabulated below, show that at least in the Free State, for which alone accurate statistics are available, stock-breeding has already acquired a considerable development:—

Farms, 10,500 ;	Horses, 248,000 ;	Cattle, 900,000 ;
Sheep, 6,620,000 ;	Goats, 858,000 ;	Swine, 32,000.

There were no horses or swine in South Africa before the discovery ; but horned cattle and sheep had been domesticated, and large herds and flocks were owned by the Hottentots, who were essentially a pastoral people. One of the inducements of the Dutch East India Company to establish a station at the Cape was the knowledge of this fact, and they had at first no thought of anything but the facilities thus afforded of procuring supplies of fresh meat for the crews of the ships plying between Holland and their Eastern possessions.

Although inferior in some respects to the stock afterwards introduced from Europe, the native animals possessed qualities for which they are even still prized. Like the Dinkas of the White Nile, the Todas of Southern India, and so many other primitive peoples who depend for their sustenance on their herds, the Hottentots regarded their huge-horned cattle with a feeling akin to veneration. They had also acquired great skill in training them for various useful purposes. Some were even taught to play the part of the sheep-dogs of other countries, mounting guard, and warning the herds of the approach of wild beasts, especially lions, who in those days roamed in great numbers over the whole land, and would even try to leap the fences of the pens and folds under the very walls of the Dutch forts. The oxen were used, as they still are in many places, both as mounts and pack-animals, to carry their owners or any loads placed upon them, while the milk of the cows formed perhaps the chief article of their diet. Although those dying a natural death were always eaten, the oxen were too highly valued to be killed for food, except on the occasion

of some great feast, or when in favourable seasons the pastures became overpopulated. Some of the Hottentot tribes owning rich grazing-grounds near the Cape, raised vast herds of these gaunt, bony animals, which were distinguished for their immense horns, long legs, and staying powers. They were thus well-suited to supply the wants of the natives, although the flesh was coarse compared with that of the European stock. The reverse was the case with the native fat-tailed sheep, some of which are still bred by wealthy farmers for the sake of the mutton, which has always been held in high esteem. Hence it is that the merino introduced by the English into the Cape and the Boer States has never driven the native stock from the field, despite the superior quality of its fleece. In fact the Hottentot sheep grows no wool, but only hair, in this respect again presenting a curious contrast to its master, who grows no hair but wool. The same strange phenomenon has been noticed in other parts of the continent, and especially in West Equatorial Africa, so that one wonders why the same environment should produce opposite results in man and

beast. Whether for this or other reasons, the Hottentot held his flocks in much less regard than his herds, and was always ready to part with them for a slight consideration. Yet they used both the milk and the flesh for food, and the children were even taught to suckle the ewes, which thus became their "foster mothers."

CHAPTER VI

THE ABORIGINES—VAALPENS, BUSHMEN, HOTTENTOTS

Primitive Man in South Africa—The Vaalpens—The Bushmen—Physical and Mental Characters—Pictorial Art—Folklore—Present Condition—The Hottentots: Cradle and Migrations—A Pastoral People—Former and Present Domain and Social Condition—Physical Characters—Hottentot-Bushman Relations—Language—The Emancipation—Hottentot Character.

BEING entirely open to the north and west, and accessible also through not too difficult passes from the eastern and southern coastlands, the Orange - Limpopo steppe region could scarcely at any time have formed an ethnical domain distinct from the rest of the continental plateau. Hitherto modern explorers, missionaries, and prospectors have been for the most part too much occupied with other interests, and especially with the quest of underground treasures, to pay

much heed to the traces of early man that lay perhaps on or near the surface. • •

But the researches of Mr. W. D. Cooch, of Mr. J. Sanderson, and a few others, have brought to light many stone implements from all parts of Cape Colony and Natal, some of which—knives, scrapers, spearheads, and the like—are undoubtedly palæolithic of the river-drift types, like those of the Nile, the Thames, and Somme valleys. Such objects will also, no doubt, be recovered in due course from the banks of the Orange, Vaal, and Limpopo, and meantime we have primitive man himself still surviving in this very region.

Here are the Vaalpens, “lowest of the low” in the social scale, the very dregs of humanity, than whom it is scarcely possible to conceive any more utterly debased beings that can be regarded as at all human. So-called “Vaalpens” are met farther west, in Bechuanaland and the Kalahari Desert, and the term is often applied wrongly, or in contempt, to the Bavenda, Bakatla, and other broken Basuto tribes between the Marico and Pongola rivers.

But the true Vaalpens, who are scarcely known except to the neighbouring Boer settlers,

are almost entirely confined to the Zoutpansberg, Waterberg, Dwarsberg, and other districts of North Transvaal, as far as the banks of the Limpopo, well within the range of the tsetse fly. The name given by the Boers to the *Kattea*, as they call themselves, is derived from *vaal*, "dusty grey," and *pens*, "paunch," and is due to the earthy or "khaki"¹ colour acquired by their bodies from the habit of creeping into their holes in the ground. But the true complexion is almost a pitch black; and as they are only about four feet high, they are quite distinct both from their tall Bantu neighbours and from the yellowish Bushmen.

The "Dogs" or "Vultures," as the Zulus call them, are certainly far more degraded even than the Bushmen, being undoubtedly cannibals, and often making a meal of their own aged and infirm, which the Bushmen never do. Their habitations are holes in the ground, rock-shelters or caves, and lately a few hovels of mud and foliage at the foot of the hills, or in summer on the veld.

¹ Khaki, which has lately acquired such vogue in military circles, is a Hindustani word meaning dusty, earthy, from *khāk*, dust, earth, ashes.

Of their speech nothing is known beyond the fact that it is absolutely distinct both from the Bushman and the Bantu. There are no arts or industries of any kind, not even any weapons except those obtained in exchange for ostrich feathers, skins, or ivory. But they have reached that progressive state at which primitive man acquired some control over fire, and they are thus able to cook the offal thrown to them by the Boers in return for their help in skinning the captured game. Whether they have any religious ideas it is impossible to say, all intercourse with the surrounding peoples being restricted to barter carried on with gesture language, for nobody has ever yet mastered their tongue. A "chief" is spoken of, but this "induna," as the Zulus call him, is merely a headman who presides over the little family groups of from thirty to fifty (there are no tribes strictly so called), and whose functions—purely domestic—are acquired, not by heredity, but by personal worth, that is, physical strength.

From the Vaalpens, who must be regarded as the true aborigines in Africa south of the Zambesi, the transition from sheer savagery

through various stages of barbarism to civilisation is represented on the continental plateau by the Bushmen, all hunters; the Hottentots, mainly herdsmen; the Bantus, mainly husbandmen; the Boers, mainly herdsmen and husbandmen; and the Britons, who constitute the higher cultural element.

All these, without exception, are here intruders in the order in which they are named. First came, in remote prehistoric times, the Bushmen, whose primeval homes have now been traced to the Nyasa and Tanganyika lands beyond the Zambesi. Everywhere in this region have been found those peculiar rounded stones, with a hole drilled through the centre, which are still used by the southern Bushmen for weighting their digging-sticks.

In these northern lands they must have long dwelt in contact or association with the pygmy peoples who are dispersed over the Central African forest tracts, and of whom they are regarded by many observers as somewhat remote kinsmen. Like the Batwa and other Negritos ("Little Negroes") of the Congo basin, they are undersized, averaging about 4 feet 6 inches, have the same dirty yellowish

complexion, and the same short black woolly hair growing in tufts, which, however, are spread evenly over the scalp, and not separated by intervening bald spaces as is often asserted.

But there are differences, which may well be explained by the more open, treeless, or scrubby environment of the southern groups. These are especially distinguished, like the cave-dwellers of Dordogne in the Stone Ages, by a remarkable sense of pictorial art, as shown by the rock paintings of men and animals true to life found in their caves and rock-shelters all over South Africa. The scenes here depicted, which some think may even be pictorial writings, that is, intended to record particular events, differ greatly in aim and style.

Many are obviously caricatures, roughly but spiritedly drawn in black paint. Fights and hunts are very numerous, while there are also drawings of figures and even incidents amongst white people as well as native tribes. Actual portraiture is even suggested, and great care is bestowed on the feathers, beads, tassels, and other adornments of the head-dress. Mr. Mark Hutchinson goes so far as to assert that in the

higher class of drawings perspective and foreshortening are correctly rendered.¹

Dr. Schulz, who has reproduced a considerable number of the paintings, tells us that many of a brownish red colour, depicting scenes from their daily life, are found on the exposed face of the sandstone rocks which project from the frowning heights of the Drakenberg and neighbouring mountains, forming the rock-shelters formerly inhabited by the Bushmen. "Not the least interesting feature of these paintings is that they have existed exposed to the inclemencies of the South African climate through a range of at least fifty years, and yet are only slightly injured, more by the weathering of the rock than by the fading of the pigment."²

But this æsthetic feeling is not the only proof of the remarkable intelligence of the Bushman people, one of whom is mentioned by Sir H. H. Johnston, who, besides his own language, was familiar with Bantu, Dutch, English, and Portuguese.

They have also an extremely rich oral folk-

¹ *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1882, p. 464.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

lore literature, comprising myths, legends, fables, and especially animal stories, in which the hare, mantis, crocodile, tortoise, ichneumon, jackal, and even the moon, are each made to speak with its own proper click. "Among the Bushman sounds," writes Dr. Bleek, "which are hereby affected and often entirely commuted, are principally the clicks. These are either converted into other consonants, as in the language of the tortoise; or into palatals and compounds, dentals and sibilants, as in the language of the ichneumon; or into clicks otherwise unheard in Bushman, as in the language of the jackal. The moon, and it seems also the hare and the anteater, substitute a most unpronounceable click in place of all others, excepting the lip click. Another animal, the blue crane, differs in its speech from the ordinary Bushman mainly by the insertion of a *tt* at the end of the first syllable of almost every word."¹ A great quantity of this Bushman literature, collected by Dr. Bleek, is preserved in manuscript form in Sir George Grey's library at Cape Town.

Surprise has often been expressed at such

¹ *Report*, May 1875.

proofs of mental ability, which seems so strangely at variance with the low physical qualities, and especially the debased social condition, of the Bushman race. It would almost seem as if in their present southern domain their normal development had been arrested by untoward circumstances, an uncongenial environment, and above all the advent of other and stronger peoples, by whom they have for generations been oppressed, enslaved, and hunted down like wild beasts. But when we are told that they dig with their nails underground dwellings, from which they are called "Earthmen," exaggeration may be suspected. At least, such descriptions are more applicable to the Vaalpens, with whom they are often confounded.

At present, very few Bushmen are left in the Boer States, while those of Bechuanaland are rising in the social scale since the extension of the British protectorate north to the Zambesi. Their state of servitude to the Bamangwato and other Bechuana peoples has been abolished, and all are now treated as human beings, with equal rights before the law. The Rev. J. Mackenzie, who has done so much to promote

good government in those lands, tells us that the Bushmen are now adapting themselves to settled habits of life. Instead of dwelling amid the rocks, following the quarry and shooting cattle with poisoned arrows, they seek employment as farm hands and herds, are put in charge of the flocks by their former Bechuana masters, and even have flocks of their own in the very heart of the Kalahari Desert, where they know better than any others where to dig for water.

The Bushmen were followed, also at some remote epoch,—probably the New Stone Age,—by the Hottentots, who came even from more distant lands than their precursors. Recent exploration has discovered what may perhaps be regarded as their true cradle in the Kwa-Kue district between Mount Kilimanjaro and Lake Victoria Nyanza. Here dwell, lost amid the surrounding Bantu populations, the Wasandawi, who were visited in the nineties by Herr Oscar Neumann, and were found to possess many physical and mental characters like those of the southern Hottentots. The skull shows the same long form, projecting upper jaw and capacity, while the language, radically distinct from Bantu, is full of those strange

click sounds, unpronounceable by Europeans, which are so highly characteristic of Hottentot-Bushman speech. Indeed, the clicks, intermediate between articulate and inarticulate utterance, were hitherto supposed to be exclusively confined to the Hottentot and Bushman tongues, with the solitary exception of the Zulu-Xbosa, which borrowed three of these splutterings at a time when they were in much closer contact with the eastern Hottentots than at present.

The region stretching west of Kilimanjaro is a steppe far more suited for pasture than tillage. Hence it is the less surprising that the Hottentots, migrating from this district, should have brought with them those pastoral habits by which they have always been distinguished in their present contracted territory south of the Zambesi. Their very first collision with the Dutch (1660) was caused by the settlers at the Cape turning farmers, and extending the area of the cultivated lands, at which the Hottentots took umbrage, fearing to be thus deprived of their pasturage, and with it their cattle, their only means of subsistence.

At that time their domain was far more extensive than at present, and there is evidence that at a still more remote period it comprised the whole of the region south of the Zambesi. The term *Wakwak* in Edrisi's map (1154 A.D.) has been doubtfully explained to be an Arabic corruption of *Kwa-kwa*, that is, *Khoi-khoi*, "Men of Men," the most general name by which the Hottentots still call themselves. Hence *kwa*, usually written *qua*, is also the masculine plural, as in *Nama-qua*, "Nama people," *Gri-qua*, "Gri people," *Dama-qua*, "Dama people." Only, in the last-mentioned case, the erroneous form *Dama-ra*, "the Two Dama Women" (*ra*, fem. dual), has become current owing to a misunderstanding on the part of the early explorers, who, on entering the district, asked its name with a sweep of the hand which the guides thought referred to two Dama women in the distance, and accordingly replied "Damara."

But even without accepting the interpretation of *Wakwak*, the former range of the Hottentots from the Nama and Dama lands to the eastern seaboard below the Limpopo is established by the still surviving Hottentot

names of mountains and rivers in the territories from which they were afterwards driven by the Bantu (Zulu-Xosa) invaders from the north.¹

Their wanderings over the continental plateau south of the Zambesi can also be followed by the cairns or heaps of stones which, like many other primitive peoples, they were accustomed to erect over the graves of famous chiefs and warriors. Lastly, the Hottentot term *ob*, with its many variants (see *South African Terminology*, p. xviii.), is widely distributed over the tableland and the seaboard, as we see from such river names as Mólolo, Hygab, Garib, Kuisip, Swakop, Ugab, and others, right up to the Cunene on the frontier of Portuguese West Africa. The argument is precisely the same as that which attests the former presence of Keltic peoples in various parts of Europe by such undying geographical terms as Alp, Apennines, Penha, Garumna (Garonne), and many others.

But the Hottentot race has been caught between the upper and nether millstones of the Bantu peoples for many ages continually pressing southward, and the white man for

¹ See on this point Dr. Lichtenstein's *Reisen*, i. p. 400 seq.

over two centuries coming up from the sea. The result is that their original domain has been very nearly absorbed, and the race itself nearly expunged, except in the extreme west (Namaqualand), and in the Upper Orange, Vaal, and Modder valleys, where the Koranas (*Koraqua*) still hang together in small tribal groups, speaking a somewhat corrupt form of the old language, and keeping up many of the national usages.

The Griquas have almost disappeared within the last few decades, although the name survives in the two districts of Griqualand West and East, where their territorial rights have been bought up by the Colonial Government. A considerable number of others, probably a branch of the Koranas, have joined their hereditary foes, the Batlapin Bechuanas of the Taungs district between the Molopo and the Vaal, where they have their chief settlement at Mamusa, and are said to number fifteen thousand.

But all these groups of the Upper Orange basin are doomed to speedy extinction. They are already too degraded and indolent to resist the demoralising effects of contact with the

Boers, by whom they are primed with bad whisky; and although many flock to the stations of the missionaries, the chief attraction is tobacco, church and school being abandoned when the supply stops.

It is curious to read that smoking to excess has always been a national vice, and it would appear from the reports of the early writers that they had acquired the habit at some remote time before the introduction of tobacco from the New World. The "weed" they consumed was the *dacha* (dakka), a species of wild hemp like *bharg*, which was inhaled through an antelope horn, and was so strong that it caused temporary madness, and ended by shattering the nerves.

In Cape Colony proper, the Gonaqua, *i.e.* "Borderers," a half-caste Hottentot-Bantu people who had long dwelt about the borderlands of the two races, generally sided with the English during the Kafir wars, and were consequently almost exterminated by the Galekas. Very few are now left, while all the other Hottentot peoples south of the Orange have given up the tribal organisation. This means that they are now "free

citizens," subject to the local administration, and dispersed amongst the rest of the inhabitants in various mean capacities — farm-labourers, carriers, guides, or domestic servants. Nearly all speak Cape Dutch, and many are in fact "Bastaards," that is to say, Hottentot-Dutch half-breeds, the issue of irregular alliances between the natives and the early settlers in colonial times.

The integrity of the Dutch race was not perhaps affected to any great extent by these crossings, because they were a one-sided affair, the progeny being, like the present Eurasians, jealously excluded from the colonial social circles. Nevertheless, according to the best authorities, there is undoubtedly an appreciable strain of Hottentot blood in many of the lower classes, and especially of those who later led the van in the Great Trek movement northward. Hence it appears to be more perceptible in the Free State and Transvaal Boers, amongst whom it is betrayed by a characteristic sallow complexion, small black eyes set rather wide apart, and an ungainly carriage, which, however, may be due to their rural pursuits. It is stated that

the term "Afrikander," which is now extended to all "country-born" whites, was originally coined to designate this very class of Boers, who were known or supposed to be touched with this (yellow) tar-brush.

Other crossings of much longer standing—in fact dating from prehistoric times—must have taken place between the early Hottentot immigrants and the Saans, as they called their Bushmen forerunners in the region south of the Zambesi. Many circumstances lend support to the now generally accepted view that the Hottentots are not a pure African race, but a Bantu-Bushman blend, still betraying many of the physical and mental characters of both, but on the whole approaching nearer to the Bushmen.

This is seen in their stature, which is undersized, though by no means dwarfish (average, 5 ft. 2 in.), their pale-yellow or yellowish-brown colour, their high cheek-bones, and small pointed chin, often giving to the face a triangular form; slightly oblique, deep-sunk eyes set wide apart, small and even delicate hands and feet, and especially certain strange excrescences and accumulations of fat about

the pelvic region, which are found in an exaggerated form in the Bushmen, and forcibly recall those curious ivory statuettes of women lately discovered in the Brassempouy caves of the Chalosse district, which were inhabited by the men of the Early Stone Age in the south of France.

The Hottentot and Bushman languages are not known for certain to be related, because our knowledge of the latter is too slight to justify a positive statement. But a fundamental connection, especially in their phonetic systems, is pointed at by the presence of clicks in both—six or seven in Bushman, and in Hottentot four, of which the neighbouring Zulu-Xosas have borrowed three. They are unknown in any other language except that of the above-described Wasandawi people in the Equatorial Lake Region. The clicks are an exceptionally important feature, because of their intermediate position between inarticulate and articulate sounds; thus, as it were, affording a connecting link between animal and human utterance.

Yet, on the other hand, the Hottentot language has acquired an astonishing de-

velopment in, its grammatical structure; so much so, that Lipsius sought for its affinities in the ancient Egyptian, with which he had some acquaintance. But Egyptian, still, represented by the Koptic, that is, the liturgical language of the Alexandrian Church, is now known to be a branch of the Hamitic group of languages; and between Hamitic and Hottentot there is an abyss.

This South African tongue is also wholly unconnected with the Bantu family, and is therefore completely isolated in its present restricted domain, unless further research, may show a radical connection with Sandawi. It is classed with the agglutinating forms of speech; but its agglutination is of such a high order as scarcely to be distinguishable from inflection, the characteristic feature of the Aryan and Semitic, that is, of the most highly developed families. Like these, it possesses true grammatical gender, with distinct endings for the masculine, feminine, and neuter (common) in the singular, dual, and plural; and, what is perhaps still more surprising, has also separate endings for the objective (accusative) case in all three numbers.

There are numerous other elements, which make the inflection of a noun almost as complicate as in Latin or Greek; and such is the development of the personal particles, that they are tacked on even to the conjunction, always as postfixes, as if we should say in English *and - he give - he*, meaning simply *and he gives*. Another curious feature is the presence of tones, of which there are three, serving, as in the Indo-Chinese languages, to distinguish the different meanings of monosyllables, which in English are (sometimes) distinguished by the spelling, as with *tare, tear; bare, bear*, etc. But these tones are also found in the Yoruba, Ashanti, and several other languages in Upper Guinea. They naturally arise with the necessity of distinguishing between words which by phonetic decay have been reduced to a common form.

In Cape Colony the Act passed in 1833 for the abolition of slavery, with compensation to the owners, did not come into full force till the year 1838. At that time the number of slaves in the Colony was found to be 35,745, of whom the great majority

were full-blood or half-caste Hottentots. The others, 'probably about six thousand, were the descendants of Negroes or Bantus, who had been imported in Dutch times chiefly from Angola, Madagascar, and the opposite mainland, the latter being locally known as "Mozambiques."

But on their emancipation all alike appear to have behaved well, quite disappointing the forebodings of those who had anticipated all kinds of disorders, social convulsions, financial and economic ruin, and other evils, such as did actually to some extent result from the enforcement of this philanthropic measure in some other parts of the empire, notably the West Indies. "But in South Africa never were men more mistaken. In very few instances, indeed, did the freedmen remain over the day in the service of their late masters, but their conduct everywhere was most exemplary. Many were affected with religious fervour, and spent the first day of their liberty in giving thanks to God for the great blessing conferred upon them; others congregated together and spent the day in festivity. The knowledge that they were

really free elevated them above all thought of crime. Thirty-five thousand people in utter poverty, without food or homes, without anything excepting their bodies to call their own, and yet rejoicing with a delirious joy, abstaining from theft and all manner of crime,—such was the sight witnessed in the Cape Colony on the memorable day, the 1st of December 1838.

“The emancipators have had no reason to blush on account of the conduct of the freed-men since. For a time, indeed, many of them withdrew from the service of the farmers, preferring to gain their living by working in villages. Agriculture thus received a temporary check, but only to be carried on afterwards with redoubled energy and increased success. So far from society being disturbed, there has never been any such danger since the Emancipation as there was before it, when bands of escaped slaves infested the country, plundering the farmers, and frequently imbruing their hands in blood. The slaves and their descendants quickly and quietly became merged into the great body forming the labouring class of the Colony,

which is as free from crime as any peasantry in the world."¹

It may be added that, while continuing to give a fair measure of satisfaction, the Hottentot labourers have hitherto shown no ambition to raise themselves above the strictly proletariat class. They are, generally speaking, a kind-hearted people, trustworthy and loyal to their employers when well treated. Their chief failings are indolence, dacha-smoking, and, as with most low and some high races, an unquenchable thirst for strong drink, leading at times to orgies and all their attendant evil consequences. To the smoking of the maddening dacha weed Schulz attributes most of the crimes which they occasionally commit. It seems to produce intense transient excitement of the brain, "causing the smoker to burst out into vaunting speech interspersed with long-drawn yells of a most blood-curdling nature. His eyes roll wildly, and in these moments of exaltation the rapidly working brain conceives wild ideas not infrequently put into execution later."² But the same observer gives them credit for genuine kindly

¹ Theal, p. 230.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

feelings, extended even to dumb animals. He mentions the case of a motherless little kid, which during one of his hunting expeditions became a universal pet, and was regarded by his native followers with as much affection as are the goats which sometimes march at the head of British regiments.

CHAPTER VII

THE BANTUS : ZULU-KAFIRS, BASUTOS, BECHUANAS

Migrations—The terms “Bantu” and “Kafir” : Types ; Mental Qualities ; Main Divisions—The Zulus : Military System ; Relations with the Boers—The Basutos : Relations with the Boers—Settlement of the Free State—Moshesh—The Bloemfontein Convention—Constitution of the Free State—The Bechuana Nations : Tribes and Totems—Table of the Bechuana Nations—Domain—The “English Road”—Relations with the Boers ; and the Missionaries—Goshen and Stellaland—Settlement of Bechuanaland—Areas and Populations.

THE Hottentots, who, like their Vaalpens and Bushman precursors, may now be regarded as a *quantité négligeable* everywhere except in German territory (Namaqualand), were already replaced in the central and eastern parts of South Africa by the negroid Bantu peoples—Zulus, Xosas, Bechuanas, Mashonas, and others—several thousand years ago.

As far as can be inferred from the scanty indications afforded by the archæological remains and terminology associated with the Zimbabwe ruins (see above), the inhabitants of the country were not Bushmen or Hottentots, but Bantus, when those monuments were built by the civilised peoples—Sabæans and others—who came there in quest of gold. The Bushmen were a feeble folk, the Hottentots for the most part peaceful herdsmen; but the Bantus, and especially the eastern tribes, were amongst the most warlike peoples in the whole of Africa. Hence it must have been against them that the great watch-tower at Zimbabwe and those stout ramparts were raised by the strangers to protect the stations while carrying on their extensive mining operations. The very word *zimbabwe* is pure Bantu, meaning a royal residence, from *nzimba*, a dwelling, and *mbuie*, a lord or great chief. The great chief here referred to was the *Monomotapa* or *Benomotapa*, a word which till lately was supposed to mean a kingdom or empire, but is now shown to be a personal title, with the appropriate meaning of “lord of the mines” (literally “diggings”), from *Mono* and *Bena*

(*Mwana, Byana*), lord, master, and *tapa*, to dig or excavate—all common Bantu words.¹

That the streams of Bantu migration had their source in the East Equatorial lands, and set along the eastern seaboard continuously southwards to the extremity of the continent, is shown, amongst other grounds, by the term *Munkulunkulu*, one of the Bantu names of the deity, which may be followed in its numerous variant forms along the whole route from the Tana basin near the Equator to the Great Fish River, the southern limit of their domain in Cape Colony. Thus—

Name of Deity.	Tribe.	District.
Mulungu .	Wanyika	{ Coast north of Mombasa.
Mungo .	Wapokomo	. Banks of the Tana.
Mulungu .	Wagiryama	{ Coast between Melinda and Mombasa.
Muungu .	Waswahili	. Zanzibar coast.
Mulungu .	Waruandi	{ East side Lake Tanganyika.
M'lungu .	Wafipa .	. nyika.
Mungu .	Walunda	. Lake Bangweolo.

¹ See A. H. Keane's monograph on "The Portuguese in South Africa" in R. W. Murray's *South Africa from Arab Dominion to British Rule*, 1891.

Name of Deity.	Tribe.	District.
Mulungu .	Manganja .	Lake Nyasa.
Muunga ..	Achigunda .	Lower Zambesi.
Moloko .	Makua .	Mozambique.
Murungu .	Batoka .	Manika and Sofala.
Unkulunkulu .	Zulus, Xosas .	{ Zululand. Kaffraria.
Ukulukulu .	Amampondo .	Pondoland.

The term "Bantu" is a native word meaning "people" (from *Aba* or *Ba*, plural form of *um*, *umu*, the personal prefix, and *ntu*, a man, a person). It was first applied by Dr. Bleek to all the peoples south of the Zambesi who are neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, but speak various forms of a now extinct stock language, and are therefore assumed to belong to one racial group. As they never had a common ethnical name, they were all conventionally comprised under this general designation of Bantu, by which is therefore to be understood "peoples of Bantu stock and speech."

Later, the discovery was made that the Bantu linguistic family had an immense range, extending, in fact, almost exclusively over the whole of the continent, from Kaffraria to about four or five degrees of latitude north of the Equator.

In this vast domain of some six million square miles, no other languages are known to exist except the Hottentot, Bushman (with Sandawi), a few Negro tongues penetrating south from Sudan, and the non-Bantu idioms of the Negritoes dispersed over the Congo forest zone. Thus it is that we now hear of Bantu peoples and of Bantu languages pretty well everywhere. But the term is still somewhat restricted to scientific writings, and has not yet obtained currency in the Boer States, the British Colonies, and south of the Zambesi, where the popular collective name of these natives is *Kafir* or *Kaffre*.

Kafir is an Arabic word which means "infidel"; and when the Portuguese reached the East Coast it was found to be in general use, as applied by the Mohammedans to all the surrounding pagan populations who rejected the precepts of the Koran. In this sense it was adopted by the Portuguese, and introduced amongst the early Dutch settlers by the crews of their vessels calling at the Cape for fresh provisions.

From the Cape it has spread all over South Africa, with the result that Kafir and Bantu

are now to be taken as synonymous expressions in this region, and will henceforth be so used in this work. Any native who is not of Hottentot speech, and is neither a Bushman nor a Vaalpens, will be called a Kaffre (Kafir) by the English and the Boers, and a Bantu by the ethnologists and philologists.

Here it is carefully to be noted that the Bantus are not full-blood Negroes like those of Upper Guinea and Sudan, but a *negroid* people, that is, a mixture of two or more elements, of which the substratum is the Negro, and the later infusions mainly Hamitic (*Galla*), and, to a less degree, Semitic (*Arab*). The mixtures took place at different times and in varying proportions, the result being that the Bantus themselves show nearly all shades of physical and mental characters, intermediate between the pure Negro or Ethiopic and the much higher Hamitic and Semitic (Caucasic) types of mankind. Hence the extraordinary differences that are observed between, for instance, the degraded Magwamba ("demons" or "devils"), called "Knobnoses" by the Transvaal Boers, and the Basutos, Zulus, and others, who are both mentally and bodily

immensely superior to the Felups and other true Negroes of Senegambia.

Professor Bryce, an excellent observer, was fully alive to these profound distinctions, when he dwelt upon the high qualities of many of the Bantu peoples, and did not hesitate to apply the word "great" to such men as the Zulu king Chaka, a warrior comparable to Napoleon himself; to the renowned Basuto chief Moshesh, who successfully defied the Boers in his mountain fastnesses; and to the Bechuana king Khama, who administers an extensive territory with great wisdom, and controls his formerly lawless Bamangwato subjects with a vigour combined with kindness which would do credit to any European ruler. "Three such men are sufficient to show the capacity of the race for occasionally reaching a standard which white men must respect."¹

South of the Zambesi the Bantus form several distinct groups, in some cases so distinct that their common Bantu speech is almost the only bond of unity between them. The most important divisions are :—

I. The ZULU-XOSAS, commonly called ZULU-

¹ *Impressions of South Africa*, 1898.

KAFIRS—Zulus and Xosas, with several minor groups, being essentially one people in physique, speech, usages, traditions, and religion. Domain—Zululand and Kaffraria, originally; later, Transvaal, Matabililand, and Zambesia.

II. The **BECHUANAS** and **BASUTOS**, who are also essentially one people, of whom the Bechuanas are the western, the Basutos the eastern branch. Domain—Basutoland and the southern parts of the Orange Free State; Bechuanaland in its widest sense, that is, most of the central parts of the continental plateau from the Orange to the Zambesi, with Lake Ngami district and the greater part of Transvaal, originally; later, the Zambesi above the Victoria Falls, where the Makololos and other Basutos, after overthrowing the first Barotse empire, founded a powerful State about the middle Zambesi, but were afterwards in their turn overthrown and exterminated by the Barotse. Their Sesuto language, however, survived, and is now current as the chief medium of intercourse along the banks of the Zambesi above the Falls.

III. The **AMATONGAS**, **AMASWAZI**, **AMAFENGUS**, **MAGWAMBAS**, **MASHONAS**, **MAKALAKAS**,

BANYAI, BATOKAS, and several other smaller groups, for whom there is no collective national or racial designation, except the all-comprehensive "Kaffre." Indeed, there is no kind of racial or social coherence, no national sentiment, traditions, or usages, no physical unity, the types often approaching very nearly to the true Negro, from whom many would be scarcely distinguished but for their common speech, entitling them to be called Bantus. They may be regarded as representing the first wave of Bantu migration to South Zambesia, where they were afterwards reduced, dispersed, made outcasts or enslaved by the greatly superior Bechuanas and Zulu-Xosas arriving as conquerors in later times. Domain—Portuguese territory between the Zambesi delta and Delagoa Bay; parts of Zululand; North Transvaal, and thence across the Limpopo northwards to the Lower Zambesi, originally; later, Kaffraria (Ama-Fengus transferred thither by the British administrators, to save them from their Zulu oppressors).

IV. OVAHERERO and OVAMPO, two closely related peoples of Bantu stock and speech, who constitute the extreme south-western

division of the family, and present some special features sharply distinguishing them from all its other members. Domain—Damara and Ovampoland from about Walvisch Bay northwards to the Cunene River, which forms the boundary between German and Portuguese territory on the West Coast. The so-called “Hill Damaras” of the Kaoko uplands, who call themselves Hau-Khoin, “true Hottentots,” and speak a corrupt Hottentot dialect, appear nevertheless to be of Ovaherero (Bantu) stock, with, no doubt, a considerable strain of Hottentot blood.

Nearly all these Bantu peoples have at one time or another had friendly, but mostly hostile, relations with the Boers ever since they began to spread northwards from Cape Colony, in the years 1835–38. But their most formidable enemies have always been the Zulus, who had at that time reached the apogee of their power, and were strong enough to bring the emigrant farmers to the verge of ruin on more than one occasion.

The military system of the Zulus, which made them the terror of half a continent, is generally referred to their most famous chief Chaka, who ruled his turbulent subjects with a

rod of iron during the three first decades of the nineteenth century. But although it was brought by him to the highest degree of perfection of which such a system is capable, he was not its true founder. He was merely the apt pupil of his kinsman Dingiswayo, chief of the Abatetwa tribe, who during his exile in Cape Colony (1793-99) had more than one opportunity of noticing how a mere handful of disciplined European troops were able to rout thousands of armed natives. On his return to Zululand, Dingiswayo's first care was to organise his impis on the European model, without, however, substituting firearms for the assegai.

The Abatetwa were the elder branch of the nation, and Dingiswayo was consequently the paramount chief. But, on his death, Chaka, heir to the Zulu or younger branch, who had also been a fugitive and had served under Dingiswayo, usurped the supreme authority, merged both branches in a single Zulu nationality, and soon became the most powerful chief in South Africa. The whole land was divided into military districts, and all male adults became units in a fighting machine, which for

efficiency could not be surpassed in the then existing social conditions.

The control of the indunas (captains) over their impis was as absolute as that of the sheiks of the Assassins in mediæval times, or of the dictator Soldano Lopez over the Paraguay people in our own days. "At a review an order might be given in the most unexpected manner, which meant death to hundreds. If the regiment hesitated or dared to remonstrate, so perfect was the discipline and so great the jealousy, that another was ready to cut them down. A warrior returning from battle without his arms was put to death without trial. A general returning unsuccessful in the main purpose of his expedition shared the same fate. Whoever displeased the king, was immediately executed. The traditional courts practically ceased to exist, so far as the will and action of the tyrant were concerned."¹

With such a terrible engine of warfare, tribe after tribe was rapidly reduced, exterminated, dispersed, or absorbed in the general Zulu nationality. Conquering expeditions were sent far and wide, and at his death, in 1828, Chaka

¹ Rev. J. Macdonald, *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1890, p. 113.

left an empire which comprised the whole of Zululand, Natal, and parts of the former Basuto territory on the plateau, together with most of the land between the Caledon and Limpopo Rivers, that is, the present Boer States.

Chaka had been murdered by his brother Mhlangana, who in a few days succumbed to another brother, Dingaan, under whom the same military organisation was maintained with little abatement for twelve years (1828-40).

It was during this eventful period that the foundations were laid of the political and social relations which at present prevail throughout South Africa. Now were witnessed the first serious efforts of the English to establish themselves in Natal; and now took place the "Great Trek," as the memorable exodus of the Cape Dutch farmers was called, which caused a general dislocation of the Bantu populations between the Orange and the Limpopo, and a beginning of the supremacy of the white man over the aborigines throughout the continental plateau.

After crossing the Orange, the pioneer Trekkers had ramified in two columns, one

continuing the northern route to and beyond the Vaál, while the other under Pieter Retief passed eastwards over the Drakenberg to Natal. Both of these columns came into collision with the Zulu forces, and thus began the struggle with those Bantus which was continued down to the year 1879, when Kechwayo, last of Chaka's successors, and Sekukuni, the powerful chief of the Bapedi Zulus in Transvaal, were finally overthrown by the British, and the northern Boer State thus saved from utter ruin.

The first serious encounter occurred in Natal, on a southern branch of the Tugela, a little east of the present town of Colenso, at a spot where was afterwards founded the settlement of Weenen, that is, "Weeping." It was so named to commemorate the disastrous result of the engagement in which as many as seven hundred Boers, including many women and children, were destroyed. Although this disaster had been preceded by several other reverses, Dingaan was defeated before the close of the same year 1838, with great slaughter, on a northern branch of the Tugela, which was named the Blood River in memory of the event.

From this blow, in which three thousand of his best men had fallen, Dingaan never recovered, and after another crushing defeat, in which the Boers were joined by his rebellious brother Mpande (Panda), he fled northwards, and was assassinated by one of his own captains in 1840. On succeeding to the chieftaincy, Panda ceded the region south of Zululand to his Boer allies, who here set up the first of their independent Republics under the designation of "Natalia," with capital Pietermaritzburg—a word made up of the Christian name of Pieter Retief and the surname of Gevrit Maritz, two of the chief leaders in the eastern Trek to Natal.

Meantime the northern pioneer column had already advanced (1835–36) in large numbers to the region beyond the Vaal, hence called "Transvaal," most of which had been overrun by Chaka's predatory hordes. But Umsilikatsi, one of his most renowned warriors, having given some offence to the king, had fled for his life at the head of a strong impi, and set up for himself in the Marico district towards the Bechuanaland frontier. Here he was attacked and utterly routed by the pioneer Trekkers

under Maritz and Potgieter in 1837. Being now also threatened by his hereditary foe Dingaan, Umsilikatsi withdrew beyond the Limpopo and founded the late Matabili kingdom, with capital Buluwayo, on the Matoppo heights, midway between the Limpopo and the Zambesi, about the year 1839 or 1840.

The whole region between the Orange and Limpopo was thus left to the advanced section of the northern column of Trekkers, whose position was soon after strengthened by the accession of a considerable number of the Natalia Boers, who withdrew across the mountains when their Republic was suppressed and proclaimed British territory (1842-43).

In Matabililand, Umsilikatsi was succeeded in 1847 by his son Lobengula, who was finally overthrown by the South Africa Chartered Company's forces, and perished during his flight northwards to the Zambesi (January 23, 1894). Thus ended the atrocious military despotism founded by Dingiswayo towards the close of the eighteenth century, and henceforth the Zulu nation has ceased to be a disturbing element anywhere in South Africa.

That section of the northern trekkers which,

after crossing the Orange, had settled in the region south of the Vaal, had to do, not with Zulus, but mainly with Basutos, an equally brave but less ferocious branch of the Bantu family. These eastern Bechuanas were not originally confined to their present highland domain between the Caledon River and the Drakenberg range, but also occupied the rich fertile tracts along the northern banks of the Caledon, and beyond them the excellent pasturages extending northwards in the direction of the Vaal. In fact, the whole region which coincides with the present Orange Free State, still mainly belonged to the valiant Basuto nation down to about the year 1835. They have not even yet relinquished their ancestral claims to the southern parts of the territory, of which, after a protracted struggle, they have been dispossessed by the Free Staters.

In the current accounts of this people several apparent varieties of the national name occur, and cause much perplexity to the reader. It should therefore be noted that in their language several of the characteristic prefixed particles differ greatly from those of other members of the Bantu linguistic family. Thus,

the unchangeable root being *Suto*, *mo* and *ba*, singular and plural, are personal; *le* denotes the land, and *se* the language—so that *Mosuto* = a Basuto; *Basuto* = the Basuto people; *Lesuto* = Basutoland, and *Sesuto* = the Basuto language. •

The Boer encroachments began even before the Great Trek, and as early as 1828 several of the Cape farmers, despite proclamations to the contrary, crossed the frontier and settled in some of the less inhabited districts. They even parcelled out the land amongst themselves, each appropriating a tract of some ten or twelve square miles. As they increased in numbers, they came in contact both with the Griquas (Hottentot half-breeds), also encroaching from the west, and with the Basutos, most of whom were at that time under the sway of their great chief Moshesh. But Moshesh had suffered much from the incursions of Chaka's impis, and was also pressed by other rival chiefs. Hence, while refusing to alienate any land, he was powerless to prevent the settlers from buying large tracts from other chiefs at less than "prairie value," often even obtaining hundreds of square miles in

exchange for wares not worth a five-pound note.

Then came the Great Trek, soon after which the Boers of the plateau for the first time renounced their allegiance to England, and chose Pieter Retief as their "Commandant-General." Retief formed alliances with various tribes beyond the Orange, and especially with Moroko, chief of the Barolongs on the western (Bechuana) frontier, who had aided in the struggle with Mosilikatsi.

But large bodies of farmers were now attracted to Natalia, so that little progress was made in the Orange region till their return after the British annexation of Natal in 1842-43. Even then the development of the country was greatly retarded by the murder of Retief, and dissensions amongst the Boers themselves. Such was the state of anarchy, that many were willing at this time to return to their allegiance, and a memorial to that effect was sent in 1844 to Sir Peregrine Maitland, Governor of Natal. But the application having been rejected, two parties were formed, one hostile, the other ready to submit to British rule for the sake of peace and order. The first were

strongest in the north (Transvaal), the second in the south; and so it continued for many years after that time.

A collision with Adam Kok, head of the Griquas, brought about the first intervention of the English in 1845, when Governor Maitland made a futile attempt to restore order by appointing a Resident with a few troops at Bloemfontein, to whom all parties — Boers, Basutos, Griquas, Bechuanas, and Koranas — were to submit their troubles. But the Resident having no power to enforce his decisions, things went on much as before, and in their quarrels with the Basutos the Boers did not hesitate to appeal to arms instead of to the Arbitration Court or the Residency.

This led to the proclamation of the British sovereignty over the country between the Orange and the Vaal by Sir Harry Smith in 1848. The effect of this measure, although acceptable to many in the south, was unexpected: all civil strife ceased at once, and the majority rallied round Pretorius, who now appeared on the scene as the avowed champion of Dutch independence. He made arrangements to call out a commando from

both sides of the Vaal, intimating by proclamation that "all who would not take part in the just cause of freedom must cross the Orange River without selling their lands [this was equivalent to a decree of expulsion and confiscation]; that none would be allowed to remain neutral; and that every person acting against the Emigrant Association would be treated as a rebel and dealt with by court-martial."

When all was ready, Pretorius with his commando encamped near Bloemfontein, and sent an ultimatum to the Resident, Major Warden, to clear out with all his officials and garrison. Having previously applied in vain for reinforcements from the Cape Government, Major Warden was fain to yield to *force majeure*, and withdrew with all his following to a position on the Colonial side of the Orange.

The action of Pretorius, in which the people beyond the Vaal were associated, called for the immediate intervention of Sir Harry Smith, Governor of the Cape, who crossed the Orange at the head of a body of about 900 men, including Warden's late garrison, and a consider-

able number of Griquas under Adam Kok. At Bloomplaats he found an Emigrant commando over a thousand strong prepared to meet him; and it is instructive, in the light of later events, to read of the tactics already adopted by the Boer commandant in this first conflict with British troops. All his men were mounted, and every advantage was taken of the nature of the ground, which enabled them to form a sort of ambush from which they could fire under cover on the enemy. Provision was also made for a withdrawal to stronger positions in the rear, in case the first line should prove untenable. In this instance they were driven from one point to another with the slight loss of scarcely a dozen killed and wounded, while the English, always fighting in the open, lost four times that number. When at last they broke and fled, no captures were made, because their leader had also provided for this contingency, and made all preparations for a rapid retreat across the Vaal. "Accordingly, as soon as the action was over, most of the farmers gave their horses the rein, rode to their waggon, which were drawn up some miles distant, and before the next morn-

ing were beyond reach of their pursuers. The remainder retired to their homes, and awaited the course of events."¹

The first event was the return of Major Warden to his post at Bloemfontein, and the temporary restoration of the British "Sovereignty" north of the Orange River. Then the country was reoccupied by a considerable number of farmers from the Colony, with a renewal of the troubles with the Basutos about rights of ownership to the land, and disputed boundary questions. War followed with their chief Moshesh, who held out with wonderful tact and courage—first against the English (1848-53), and afterwards against the Free Staters down to the year 1868, when the remnant of his people were saved from destruction by the proclamation of the High Commissioner declaring the Basutos British subjects, and their country British territory. Their stout resistance to the Orange forces, withdrawing inch by inch from the plains beyond the Caledon to their caves and mountain fastnesses, until nothing remained except the stronghold of Thaba Bosigo with but a

¹ Theal, p. 146.

handful of warriors to defend it, takes rank in history amongst the most heroic efforts made by any people to uphold their freedom and independence against powerful foreign invaders.

Since the pacification, the Basutos, henceforth confined to their rich upland valleys south of the Caledon River, have to a large extent abandoned the tribal system, and settled down to peaceful ways in orderly civilised Christian communities. Although troubles again arose, turning especially on their right to bear arms, in view of further possible aggression on the side of the Free Staters; the Basutos are at present undoubtedly one of the most industrious, intelligent, and educated peoples in the whole of Africa.

Their education, as well as their Christianity, comes from the zealous French Protestant missionaries, who have been at work in this field for many years, and have founded flourishing stations at Thaba Bosigo, Maseru, Marija, and other places. Here they receive a sound, practical education, which is by no means confined to the "three R's," the medium of instruction being English. It is interesting to learn that they have not only

acquired great proficiency in this language, but now speak it with a singularly correct and agreeable pronunciation, much superior to that of their foreign teachers.

To understand how the Basuto troubles were passed on from the emigrant farmers to the English, and again from the English to the emigrants, it should be explained that after the dispersion of the commando under Pretorius and the restoration of British authority in the "Sovereignty" (1848), the farmers, "conquered but not subdued," sought the first opportunity of regaining their independence. This they fully achieved in a very short time—thanks mainly to the growing friction between the Home and the Colonial authorities. With the growth of democratic ideas in England there grew up a corresponding dislike to the imposition of an alien rule over free peoples anywhere within or beyond the confines of the British Empire.

Hence arose the policy which has been either stigmatised as a policy of "scuttle," or else upheld as a policy of "non-interference," according to the different views of the Liberal and Conservative parties. On the other hand,

there was and could be but one policy on this question in the Colony itself, where the true nature of the issues was perhaps better understood. This was a policy which was in direct opposition to that of abstention or withdrawal, and was accordingly diversely spoken of as one of expansion (Imperial expansion), or of aggression (Imperial aggression, afterwards popularly called "Jingoism").

Thus it happened that when the Dutch settlers about the confines of the empire, in the then almost unknown region beyond the Orange, began to agitate for the removal of the British flag from Bloemfontein, they found their best support in their English sympathisers, by whom, when in office, the Colonial administration was held in check and prevented from taking those energetic steps which they regarded as necessary to prevent the dismemberment of the empire. This plain issue was perhaps at that time not fully understood; but it was felt, and unconsciously acted upon, as is mostly the case in all human affairs in which the underlying popular sentiment is so often in advance of cut-and-dry theories.

Sympathy for the emigrants had already been created by the mistake made of Major Warden, when he offered a reward of £2000 for the apprehension of Pretorius, who, if technically a rebel,—and that might be questioned,—was, in the eyes of his people and their friends, a patriot and a hero comparable in a way to the Tells and Wallaces, Emmets and Washingtons, of history or fable. Hence the announcement that the Orange-Vaal region was reorganised in 1851 under a British Resident, aided by a Legislative Council, and so forth—a measure applauded in the Colony—was coldly received by many in England. They were not at the time perhaps aware that the step was taken, not so much through any desire to extend the British domain northward, as to establish a strong administration in the best interests of the Boers themselves, as well as of the Basutos, Griquas, Koranas, Bechuanas, and all the other conflicting ethnical elements in those outlying provinces. Else, as true philanthropists, they must have impartially extended their sympathies to all, and not restricted them to a particular section of humanity in South Africa, and

that, as will be seen, not perhaps the most deserving.

But the result was that the second Resident at Bloemfontein, Sir George Cathcart, was left, like the first (Major Warden), without efficient military support, and a temporary truce had consequently to be made, with the Basutos raiding, plundering, scouring the plains right up to the European settlements. All this played into the hands of the Boers, who had nothing to do but lie quiet, bide their time, and again appear on the scene at the "psychological moment."

As the troubles thickened, the desire to withdraw from an unprofitable and untenable position gathered strength, until the Special Commissioner, Sir George Clark, was sent out with instructions to surrender the sovereignty to the Boers. This was done, not only against the protests of the Cape authorities, who held that the step was fraught with danger to Imperial interests, but also against the wishes of many of the natives themselves, who dreaded the return of the farmers to power, "having a lively remembrance of what Boer commandos were" (Theal).

Thus was brought about the Convention of 1854, which^e is the *Magna Charta* of the Boers dwelling this side the Vaal, who the same year framed a Constitution, afterwards revised in 1866, 1879, and 1898. The *Oranje Vrijstaat* ("Orange Free State"), as it was officially designated, was constituted a representative commonwealth under a President, the first appointed being Mr. J. A. Boshof, while the legislative functions were vested in a *Volksraad*, or popular Assembly of about sixty members, elected by suffrage of all Burghers (free citizens) for four years for every district-town, and ward, or field-cornetcy. At present all Burghers twenty-five years of age and owners of real property to the value of £500 are eligible to the *Volksraad*; while the voters must be both Burghers by birth or naturalisation, and owners of real property of not less than £150, or lessees of real property of a yearly rental of £36, or be owners of personal property of the value of £300, or have a yearly income of not less than £200, and have resided in the State for not less than five years.

The President, in whom are vested the

executive functions, is chosen for five years by the registered voters, and is aided by an Executive Council consisting of the Government Secretary, the Landrost of the capital, and three unofficial members appointed by the Volksraad. The actual President, M. T. Steyn, was elected in 1896. •

The whole territory is divided into eighteen administrative districts, each under a Landrost, or Magistrate, who is appointed by the President, subject to the confirmation of the Volksraad. Assistant Landrosts (Resident Justices of Peace) are stationed in several of the smaller towns, and in every ward Commissioners for various purposes are elected by the Burghers.

On the withdrawal of the Resident, the new Republic assumed all the functions of an absolutely autonomous State, its complete independence and freedom from allegiance to the British Crown having been fully guaranteed by the terms of the Convention. One of the first subjects to engage their attention was the menacing attitude of the Basutos, who had patched up a temporary peace with the English, but were now all the more eager to

fall upon their hereditary foes and wipe out old scores.* The final issue of the contest, which lasted almost unintermittently for fourteen years (1853-68), has already been described. It left the Free Staters themselves somewhat exhausted; and to this may be partly due their willingness in later years to attract settlers from over the borders, and grant them rights of citizenship on easier terms than their northern neighbours.

As the relations of the Free Staters were mainly with the Basutos, those of the Transvaal Boers were, after the expulsion of Mosilikatsi's western Zulus, mainly with the Bechuanas at first, and in later times with Sekukuni's eastern Zulus. As already seen, the great body of the Bechuana nation had occupied most of the central parts of the continental plateau in prehistoric times. Here they were first met early in the nineteenth century (1801) by Lichtenstein, who at once recognised their close kinship with the Basutos, and their more distant relationship with the Zulu-Kafirs, and thus anticipated the conclusions of later observers, who now on solid grounds group all these peoples and hun-

dreds' of others under the collective name of Bantus.

The Bechuana branch must have crossed the Zambesi from the north at a very early date, because, of all these southern Bantu groups, they alone have preserved the totemic system, which is such a characteristic feature of primitive human society. They all have still their own tribal totems, from which they are usually named, as may be seen from the subjoined Table of the Bechuana Peoples, as at present distributed over the great central plateau.

It will be noticed, however, that some have the same totem in common, which means that it has either been imposed upon them by conquest, or else that they belonged originally to the same group, and retained the common totem after segregation. In some cases the tribe branching off from the old stock, and setting up for itself, adopts a new totem, and this nearly always occurs if the separation takes place in anger. A notable instance is that of the powerful Bamangwato, who at one time formed a single group with the Bakwena and the Bawanketsi, and were consequently

“Crocodiles.” But Kari, founder of the Mangwato State, and of whom Khama is fourth in descent, substituted the *puti* (duiker antelope) for the *kwena*, and that is the reason all the Bamangwato clans are now “Antelopes.” •

The origin of the totem is a subject much discussed by ethnologists. But whatever significance it may have had originally, there seems little doubt that at least amongst the present Bechuanas it is simply the tutelar tribal deity. In their language, *lino*, to dance, means also to worship, with which may be compared the ceremonial dance of the Israelites. So the Bechuanas, when questioned about the nature of their totems, will tell you that they “lino” to them—dance to, or worship, them as their chief god and protector of the tribe.

It may be mentioned that the national, or at least the most comprehensive, name of these Bantus is also totemic. Its original form appears to have been *Bachuene*, afterwards modified, as is usual with such time-honoured names, to *Bechuana*, meaning the people whose guardian was the *baboon* (*Chuene*).

The Chuene was, so to say, the eponymous hero of the race, and it is noteworthy in this connection that the Barotse branch, whose totem is still the Chuene, are regarded by all the others as their "elder brothers," the original stock from which all sprang. In inter-tribal gatherings they always take precedence, which is the more remarkable since at present the Barotse are greatly reduced, and in fact under the heel of the Transvaal Boers. The Zambesi branch, who migrated northwards early in the nineteenth century, are of course still powerful, and rulers of a great empire. But that does not count, because Barotseland lies beyond the original domain. Hence the prestige of the southern Barotse tribe must be due to their pre-eminence in former (pre-historic) times.

[TABLE.

THE BOER STATES

TABLE OF THE BECHUANA NATIONS.

Tribes.	Totem.	Territory now or formerly.	Present or Late Chief.
BATLARO BASAOMAKA	Klu, the elephant.	{ Grikualand West, and thence northwards to Kuruman and Taungs; all now merged in one group with the Batlapi.	Mankoroane.
BATLAPIN (BATLAPI BACHAPIN)			
	Tlapi, the fish.	{ Mainly between Taungs and Vryburg; capital, <i>Taungs</i> .	
BAROLONG	{ Mari, the buffalo.	{ Between Vryburg and the Molopo River, with hunting-grounds far to the west; former capital, <i>Mafeking</i> ; a branch at <i>Thabanchu</i> in the Orange Free State, with whom they have always been friendly.	Moroko, later Montsioa.
BAROTSE (BAHARUTSE)	{ Chuene, the Cape baboon.	{ About the head-waters of the Molopo, with a branch in the Marico district, Transvaal; former capital, <i>Kuruman</i> .	Lewanika.
		{ Others on the Zambesi, above the Victoria Falls; capitals, formerly <i>Linyanti</i> , now <i>Lialui</i> .	

THE BECHUANA NATIONS

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TABLE OF THE BECHUANA NATIONS—*continued*.

Tribe.	Totem.	Territory now or formerly.	Present or Late Chief.
BAWANKETSI.	Kwena, the crocodile.	From the Molopo to the Metsimashwani tributary of the Notwani River, with the Kanya district; capital, <i>Kanya</i> .	Ghasitsive.
BAKWENA.		From the Bawanketsi territory north to the tropic of Capricorn, and from the Notwani River north-west to and beyond Anderson's Vley; capital, formerly <i>Kolobeng</i> , later <i>Molepolole</i> .	Secheli.
BAKATLA	Katla, the monkey.	Gamcohopa district, north of Kanya.	Reduced tribes all now subject to King Khama.
BASILIKA		East of Shoshong, near the Limpopo.	
BACHWAPENG		Between the Basilika and left bank of Limpopo, Shoshong Hills, formerly called the "Bakan Hills."	
BAKAN.			
BAMANGWATO	Puti, the duiker antelope.	From the Bakwena territory north to the Zambesi; capital, lately <i>Shoshong</i> , now <i>Palapye</i> .	Khama.
BATWANA (BATOANA).		Lake Ngami, and thence westwards to Ovampoland; capital (lately) <i>Denokane</i> .	Moremi; Sechome (since 1891).

It will be observed that, taken as a whole, the Bechuana domain stretches from the Orange northwards to the Zambesi, along the western frontiers of the two Boer States. But these frontiers, as already seen (Chaps. II. and III.), are purely conventional, and best indicated by the great trunk line of railway, on which many of the Bechuana capitals (Taungs, Mafeking, Palapye, etc.) are now stations, just within British territory. The line itself coincides with the old historical highway which in those days was known as the "English Road," because it was followed by the British missionaries, such as Moffat and his son-in-law Livingstone; hunters, such as Gordon Cumming; and a few venturesome traders, such as Anderson,—all pioneers in the unconscious efforts of the white man to open up the interior of the continent.

But the road was open on all sides, and unprotected by any natural barriers, as far north at least as the Matoppo uplands, beyond the northernmost confines of Transvaal. Hence the Bechuanas were exposed to invasion from almost every quarter, and were in fact constantly harried by Chaka's and Dingaan's impis, who

were steadily extending the range of their devastating expeditions from the eastern seaboard westwards athwart the great highway.

That most of Transvaal belonged originally to the Bechuanas, just as most of the Free State belonged to their Basuto kinsmen, there can be little doubt, and some of their tribes (Barotse amongst others) have still their camping-grounds within the Transvaal frontier. But most of them had been cleared out and driven westwards by the Zulu hordes in the early part of the nineteenth century, and when the Voortrekkers arrived, they found Mosilikatsi encamped in the Marico district, and even much farther south, along the very verge of the present Bechuanaland. Even when this potentate had to give way to the Boers and withdraw beyond the Limpopo, the Bechuanas were not relieved from his incursions and those of his successor, Lobengula. On the contrary, these disciplined savages enlarged the area of their predatory expeditions as far westwards as Lake Ngami, and the peace-loving chief Khama himself had more than once to take arms in order to protect his Bamangwato people from their attacks.

Then came the turn of the Transvaal Trekkers, and the impartial historian will have to declare, when the records of those dark times come to be unfolded, that their commandos were not always less ruthless than Mosilikatsi's impis. Their object in harassing the Bechuana tribes on their western borders was twofold: to procure a constant supply of "apprentices" to work on their farms and in the household, and to plant themselves across the English Road, and thus present an impassable barrier to the further expansion of the British Empire northwards to the Zambesi.

It is commonly supposed that, while the first (social) motive operated from the beginning, this second (political) motive lay dormant till later times, and especially till the year 1884, when a strong incentive for a western movement was created by the German occupation of Namaqua and Damara lands on the Atlantic seaboard. But such is not the case, and the unimpeachable testimony of the early missionaries makes it clear enough that from the very first the Transvaal Boers had this political motive constantly in view. They are Protestants,—indeed, Protestants of a somewhat

stern type,—and the sincerity of their professions is not questioned. The British missionaries were also Protestants, mostly Scotchmen, consequently of the same stern puritanical type. But instead of co-operating with them in the evangelisation of the aborigines, the Boers relentlessly undid their work, and harassed both missionaries and aborigines.

How is this? Let Sir H. H. Johnston speak, than whom there is no better informed and no more unbiassed observer of things African now living. “The independence of the Boers across the Orange River and the Vaal having been recognised, a treaty was entered into with them, by which the free passage of Englishmen to the interior across the Boer territories was conceded, and slavery disallowed in the Boer States. Nevertheless, it was by no means the intention of the Boers, under Pretorius, Potgieter, and Kruger, to permit, if they could prevent it, any further advance of British influence towards the interior. By creating a continuous band of Boer rule from the Transvaal to Damaraland, they hoped to effectually obstruct the extension northwards of British domination and British ideas, and

beyond this boundary line across South Africa they intended to reconstitute the goodly patriarchal life which they had hitherto enjoyed. . . . The Boer rule over the territory between the Limpopo and the Vaal had been recognised in a loose sort of way by the British Government, and nothing in the terms of this recognition debarred the Boers from further extending their rule westwards over Bechuanaland; indeed, I believe that, had it not been for the reckless, indiscreet way in which the Dutch farmers endeavoured at various times to assert their authority over the natives, Bechuanaland would have become a Boer State, and a strong barrier in the way of a British movement towards the Zambesi.

“So resolved were the Boers to prevent English access to Bechuanaland and the regions beyond, and to hinder the country from becoming known, that, besides waylaying, robbing, and expelling such English travellers and traders as found their way thither, they further seized one Maccabe, who had dared to write a letter to the Cape papers on the route to Lake Ngami, fined him \$500 for publishing this information,

and kept him in prison until the fine was paid.”¹ .

No doubt the advent of the Germans acted as a fresh stimulant, and led to what have been called “filibustering expeditions” into the protected Bechuana territories, where were set up the two ephemeral Republics of Goshen and Stellaland. Documents, now pigeon-holed in the Pretoria and Berlin archives, may also one day show that it was something more than a coincidence that the date (1884) of the German occupation and of the westward movement of the Transvaalers corresponded.

But the Germans were in no way associated with earlier and far worse raiding expeditions against the missionaries and their Christian neophytes. And here let Livingstone himself speak. Referring to the practice generally observed by the commandos, to shoot down the men and women and capture their little ones as young as possible, so that they might forget their murdered parents and their native language, and thus make more apt apprentices, the great philanthropist writes: “It is difficult for a

¹ *Livingstone and the Exploration of Central Africa*, 1891, pp. 85, 86.

person in a civilised country to conceive that any body of men possessing the common attributes of humanity (as these Boers are by no means destitute of the better feelings of our nature), should with one accord set out, after loading their own wives and children with caresses, and proceed to shoot down in cold blood men and women, of a different colour, it is true, but possessed with domestic feelings and affections equal to their own. . . . It was long before I could quite give credit to the tales of bloodshed told by native witnesses, and, had I received no other testimony but theirs, I should probably have remained sceptical to this day as to the truth of the accounts. But when I found the Boers themselves, some bewailing and denouncing, others glorying in the bloody scenes in which they had been themselves the actors, I was compelled to admit the validity of the testimony, and try to account for the cruel anomaly. They are all traditionally religious, tracing their descent from some of the best men (Huguenots and Dutch) the world ever saw. Hence they claim to themselves the title of 'Christians,' and all the coloured races are 'black pro-

perty,' or 'creatures.' They being the chosen people of God, the heathen are given to them for an inheritance, and they are the rod of Divine vengeance on the heathen, as were the Jews of old" (*ib.* p. 87).

To the same effect writes the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie: "They have persuaded themselves by some wonderful mental process that they are God's chosen people, and that the blacks are the wicked and condemned Canaanites, over whose heads the Divine anger lowers continually. . . . They shot them down like vermin . . . Dutchmen will tell you that in a certain engagement the 'heathen' loss was so many, and theirs so many 'Christians' (*i.e.* Boers) murdered."

"On a particular occasion," writes Mr. Ludorf, another missionary, whose statement was confirmed by the State Attorney, "a number of native children, who were too young to be removed, had been collected in a heap, covered with long grass, and burned alive. Other atrocities had been committed, but these were too horrible to relate."

It was after a scene of this harrowing description that the Bechuanas were driven to

exclaim, "Mosilikatsi was cruel to his *enémies*, and kind to those he conquered, but the Boers destroyed their enemies and made slaves of their friends."

Owing partly to their advanced position towards Transvaal, and partly to the success of Livingstone's mission in their midst, the Bakwena nation, whose capital at that time was at Kolobeng, had to bear the full brunt of the Boer incursions. Here Livingstone speaks, not merely as a spectator, but as a fellow-sufferer with his native congregation. He was in fact regarded as a menace, and singled out for special attack, though it is right to say that the Transvaalers, or some of them, may really have credited the reports that the missionary had turned drill-sergeant, was supplying the Bechuanas with guns and ammunition, and, instead of preaching, instructing them in military tactics.

It is to be remembered that many of the Voortrekkers were extremely poor and ignorant men, without any knowledge of letters, as is the case with perhaps the majority of their descendants to this day. In some of the less favoured districts of the Banken veld, the

farmers have a hard struggle to support themselves on the ungrateful soil. They live with their families crowded together in wretched hovels and mud huts, with unglazed windows, and often, like the native dwellings, with but one room for the whole household. They have but few herds, and these, as well as their horses, are of poor stock; while the crops, chiefly of oats, are often of little use except for fodder. But all are fanatics, zealous in what they suppose to be the cause of righteousness, and consequently blind instruments in the hands of their astute leaders. Hence the commandos were always ready to obey orders without question or scruple, much in the same way as Pascal tells us the highly educated and intelligent followers of Loyola became *quasi corpus mortuum*, as "dead bodies," in the hands of their superior officers.

In any case, the word went forth that the evangelists were to be cleared out of the land, and their devoted Bakwena adherents to be conquered and brought under Boer rule. The first part of the programme was crowned with success; and in the year 1852, during Livingstone's temporary absence from Kolobeng, this

station, which was also the chief seat of the tribe, was attacked by a strong commando, without warning or provocation of any kind. "On this occasion they plundered Livingstone's house of everything it contained; they smashed his stock of medicines, sold all his furniture and clothing at public auction, and, not caring for the trouble of transporting his books, they tore out handfuls of the leaves, and scattered what had once been a good library all over the place. They also seized and carried off all the stores and eighty head of cattle deposited there by English travellers and sportsmen. No reparation for these robberies was ever obtained."¹

Such was the end of the missions, but not of Livingstone, who had his revenge in his own way. He now turned traveller, and placed his name in the forefront of illustrious explorers, with the avowed purpose of opening the door which the Boers had closed. "The Boers," he remarked, "resolved to shut up the interior, and I determined to open the country: we shall see who have been most successful in resolution, they or I."

¹ Johnston, p. 90.

The next step was to crush the Bakwena people; but here they failed, thanks to the energetic resistance opposed to the commandos by the valiant native chief Secheli. Finding their efforts to incorporate his territory in the Transvaal State completely foiled, the Boers again bided their time, and later renewed the attempt to block the English Road under what seemed to hold out more favourable prospects of success. Here dates, and even days, become important. The memorable year 1884 opened (27th February) with the signing of the Convention of London, by which that of Pretoria (1881) was modified in favour of the South African Republic. Two months later (24th April) the Cape Government was officially informed that Germany had proclaimed a protectorate over parts of Namaqualand, the foundation-stone of her future colonial empire. Then, in the autumn of the same year (September and October) the territory of the Barolong chief, Montsioa, over which a British protectorate had been proclaimed, was raided by several bands of Boer "filibusters," who here set up the two "Republics" of Goshen and Stellaland. Reference has already been made to the pos-

sible significance of these dates, and here it will suffice to remark that the action of the Transvaalers was not only a distinct violation of the 1884 Convention, but also a defiance of the Imperial Government. Referring to these and other instances of the restless and even lawless temperament of the Boer race, the Rev. W. P. Greswell aptly remarks that "there is a lawlessness in the Boers which is apparent under all circumstances, evidenced in their own internal disputes in the Republics, in their filibustering raids, and in the frequent establishment of such travesties of rule as the mock Republics of Goshen, Stellaland, the New Republic, and others. Over all these elements of unrest, standing as it were between the European and native races as arbiter and judge, the British Government has been compelled, at the risk of much calumny and misrepresentation, to hold a controlling and restraining influence. England's motives have often been misread, her mission impeded, her magnanimity turned into a garbled tale. But the work of defence and of administration has gone steadily on."¹

¹ *Africa south of the Zambesi*, p. 254.

It is, however, but fair to say that in the present instance the action of the filibusters was, on remonstrance, repudiated by the Pretoria authorities, and early next year (29th January) President Kruger came to an understanding with Sir Charles Warren over the matter. Hence no opposition was made to the expedition led by Sir Charles against the filibusters, which resulted in the suppression of the two mock Republics and a proclamation of a British protectorate over the whole of Bechuanaland (8th October 1885).

Thus this vast region was saved from absorption in the Boer State; the door to the interior of the continent was reopened, and since kept open, and the various Bechuana nations were maintained in the possession of their tribal and territorial rights. Eventually, by a further peaceful arrangement, the land was divided into a northern and a southern section—the former, from the Molopo to the Zambesi, remaining under British protection; the latter, from the Molopo to the Orange, being declared a Crown Colony, till 1895, when it was incorporated in Cape Colony. In these arrangements were comprised all the

western tracts, where Bechuana land proper merges in the Kalahari Desert, and becomes now conterminous with German South-West Africa. Including these tracts, where still dwell some Bushmen and Hottentot half-breeds, the Bechuana domain has a total area of about 250,000 square miles, with a population approximately estimated at 560,000, thus distributed between the Cape division and the Protectorate:—

SOUTH BECHUANALAND

(Incorporated in Cape Colony)

Tribal Territories.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.
BAROLONG	20,000	50,000
BATLARO AND BATLAPI	15,000	
KALAHARI BUSHMEN	10,000	
BAASTARDS' COUNTRY	5,000	10,000
° (proclaimed 1891)		

NORTH BECHUANALAND

(British Protectorate)

BANGWAKETSE AND BAKWENA	50,000	100,000
KALAHARI BUSHMEN	30,000	
BAMANGWATO	90,000	400,000
BATWANA	30,000	
Total	250,000	560,000

CHAPTER VIII

THE BOERS : COLONIAL TIMES—FORMATION OF CHARACTER

Constituent Elements : Dutch, French, German—The First Settlers — Importation of Slaves — The Half - Breeds — Afrikanders Past and Present—Huguenots and Waldenses —French Family Names—The German Element—The Taal (Cape Dutch)—The Dutch Colonial Administration —Moral Results—A Homogeneous New Race : Mental and Physical Characters—Table of Areas and Populations about 1800—Advent of the English—Blundering Legislation—The Emancipation—D'Urban and Glenelg—The Boer Case : Antagonistic Views.

TO the question, Who are the Boers? the answer must be, They are a new race, the outcome of a blend of divers old elements of Caucasian stock transferred from Europe to South Africa during the second half of the seventeenth century, and there modified under the influences of a changed environment. In the study of the physical and mental characters of such a people, the first consideration must

therefore be the origin of the old elements, and especially the proportion in which they are fused in one.

All at present speak the Taal, a local variety of the Dutch language; and it might therefore be inferred that all are of Dutch descent. But here, as in so many other cases, language fails somewhat as a racial test. The inference is true enough, so far as regards the larger portion of the ingredients, who were beyond all question natives of Holland. But there were others, and those important, about whom the Taal now tells us nothing; nor does it throw any light on another not unimportant matter—the social classes from which the Dutch contingent itself was drawn.

Fortunately, nearly all these points can be settled on historic evidence, and an appeal to authentic records shows plainly enough—(1) that the great majority of the first arrivals were drawn from the lower grades of Dutch society, with whom were associated a large number of the riff-raff from every part of Western Europe, attracted to the Colony by agents and others known as “kidnappers,”

soldiers, seafaring folk, ne'er-do-wells, adventurers and others greatly predominating; (2) that these were joined later by Dutch immigrants of a better class, and, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), leavened by a considerable body of Huguenots representing all classes of French society—hence, although numerically inferior, greatly superior to the Dutch in most respects; (3) that the third ingredient was made up mainly of Germans, chiefly adventurers, soldiers, and peasants from Hesse, Swabia, and other rural districts, arriving in small bodies at various times.

It is carefully to be noted that the Cape, left almost entirely to itself for over 150 years after its discovery by the Portuguese (1487), was not at first occupied by the Dutch East India Company with a view to colonisation. A few seafarers had landed from time to time, and in 1620 the English had even taken formal possession in the name of James I., without, however, taking any serious steps to settle in the district. Despite its convenient position on the highway to the Indies, it was again abandoned,

and almost forgotten till attention was directed to the headland by the wreck of the *Haarlem* in Table Bay on the home voyage from the Indies in 1648. Then at last it was decided to occupy the Cape, not as a colony, but merely as a revictualling station for the Company's ships plying between Holland and their Eastern possessions.

Effect was given to this resolution in 1652, when a naval expedition was sent out under Johan van Riebeck, with instructions to occupy the place, and erect a fort as a precaution against attacks either by the natives, or by any passing vessel of the Portuguese or the English, with whom the Dutch were in those days almost constantly at war. The Cape was therefore, in the first instance, a military stronghold held by the Company mainly for trading and other purposes, without a thought of forming any settlements beyond the reach of the guns of the fort. On the contrary, all except the Company's servants were "warned off the premises," and severe measures were taken to prevent any outside intercourse with the surrounding Hottentot tribes, who were to be treated with all kindness and a

degree of consideration which would now be called timidity.

For some time the station continued to be exclusively occupied by soldiers, sailors, a few craftsmen, and gardeners to grow vegetables for the crews of passing vessels. These people were treated with great rigour; and the case is mentioned of one poor wretch sentenced to a hundred blows with the butt end of a musket for presuming to ask for more or better rations than the penguin served out instead of pork. In this way the germs were laid of that spirit of discontent and friction which afterwards became chronic between the administration and the settlers.

These were not at first drawn directly from Europe at all, but were, so to say, manufactured on the spot out of the sailors and soldiers serving at the station, and the process began about the year 1657, when the necessity had at last been recognised of enlarging the settlement, and transforming the military post to the capital of a Colony, in the strict sense of the term. The policy then adopted was, not to introduce strangers from Europe, but to release a number of the

Company's people from service, and transform them to free Burghers, on the condition of settling down and cultivating the lands allotted to them in the vicinity. For this they were to receive payment in proportion to the work done, and they would thus, in a sense, continue in the employment of the Company as their sole customers for the produce of their farms. These "free Burghers" are therefore to be regarded as the first colonists in South Africa, in the strict sense of the term; *they were the nucleus of the Boer race.*

As they possessed nothing, they were supplied with everything—farm implements, cattle, seed, and even food, with firearms for their defence; and all this was to be paid for in kind, that is, by their farm produce. It was further stipulated that, after three years' tenure, they should be entitled to the freehold of all the lands that they had brought under cultivation. These provisions were well calculated to stimulate industry, and to develop that spirit of personal independence which is one of the most characteristic traits of the Boer temperament.

Yet the class of men who then and later thus acquired the status of free citizens did not seem to promise well for the future of the settlement. Mr. Theal, a trustworthy guide in all matters connected with the early relations of the Colony, points out that "the sailors and soldiers of the Company were not such men as had followed gallant Barendz to the Polar Seas, or heroic Heemskerk in his glorious career. The Republic had barely sufficient of these to serve her at home, and, had there been myriads of them, the Company's service was the last employment to which they would have devoted themselves. For that service, in its lowest branches, had acquired a most disreputable name in Europe. A scarcity of seamen had first caused the Company to make use of a set of wretches whom they termed agents, but who were known to everyone else by the odious designation of kidnappers. These persons were constantly busy endeavouring to entice the unwary and vagabonds of all the countries of Western Europe into the service of their employers. The Company paid them two months' wages in advance for each individual

they ensnared, which amount gathered together a motley crew of spendthrifts, vagabonds, and simpletons, the very refuse of Europe. Yet among them were to be found men who had once moved in the higher circles of society, but who now, by their own crimes or their misfortunes, were reduced to the general level of their associates. This system, once commenced, could not be changed. To keep in subjection a number of men like these, rendered desperate by the circumstances in which they were placed, a discipline so severe was necessary, and was carried out with such determination, that no good seaman or soldier would enter the service. Cause and effect were thus continually reacting upon each other. It is not surprising that men, to free themselves from such a life, should be found willing to accept grants of land in South Africa on the terms prescribed by Commissioner Van Goens, and it is still less surprising that in general they made very unruly and improvident citizens."¹

About this time also gangs of Negro or negroid slaves began to be introduced both

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

from the west (Angola) and east (Mozambique) coasts. These, like other "warês," were hired out to the farmers on credit, with the result that the moral tone was generally lowered, and a spirit of pride fostered in the Burghers, who learned to despise manual labour as fit only for menials. Later, the slaves were redeemed, and became the absolute property of their employers; and thus it came about that Boer society was, at the time of the Emancipation, constituted, as in the East, on a basis of servitude. Slaves became not merely a luxury, but a necessity, in every household, and the Act of Abolition thus proved to be a primary factor in the social disrapture known as the "Great Trek."

But it is right to state that at least at first the slaves appear to have been well treated, and we read that as early as 1683 provision was even made for their education, though on terms that would scarcely be regarded as efficient in these days. It was arranged that a teacher, who had been successful in imparting instruction to Dutch and black children, should receive a capitation grant of half a rix-dollar per month for every ten Dutch children, and

continue to instruct those of Hottentots and baptized slaves "for the love of God." It should here be noticed that Dutch was then, and long after, the sole medium of instruction, so that all white children, whatever their origin, speedily forgot their mother-tongue, and spoke nothing but *Afrikaansch*, then in process of evolution.

But, later, other interests arose, other counsels prevailed, and the attitude of the settlers towards their slaves underwent a complete change. Some of these were now introduced even from the Indies, by which term are mostly to be understood Java and the other Dutch possessions in the Eastern Archipelago. In point of fact, the slaves in question were not Indians (Hindus), but Malays, generally shipped at Batavia, often under peculiarly hard conditions.

The Malays are a restless, revengeful race, amenable to discipline, and even to docile obedience, if treated with kindness, but otherwise sullen and taciturn, with long memories for wrongs endured, and to be avenged on occasion. At the Cape they suffered many wrongs; and as the practice of manumitting

after a term of servitude had now been discontinued, they sought every opportunity to escape from hopeless bondage. Thus the settlements became at times overrun by bands of fierce Malay plunderers, who were often joined by others—blacks and Hottentots—driven in their turn to desperation by stern measures framed to repress the revolts of the malcontents. “A perusal of the authentic documents of the Colony at this period [1770–80] is sufficient to startle the most callous, so vividly are the sufferings of the slaves therein portrayed, without any intention on the part of the writers to create sympathy for the bondsmen. At the will of the man who happened to own them, they could be sold at any moment; the members of a family could be separated for ever; they could be flogged, ill-fed, ill-housed, compelled to perform any service. Their punishment for crimes against the community was out of all proportion to that inflicted upon freemen for the same offence. Yet many of these unfortunates were born free, and, while some had been enslaved for their crimes and sent hither from India [Batavia], the majority were guilty

of no offence against the white man. They were simply ensnared, or else were purchased from some tribe with which their own was at war."¹

Then a curious change came about with regard to the responsibilities of the owners, and especially their duty, at first fully recognised, to instruct the slaves in the doctrines of Christianity. The duty was now neglected, the reason being purely selfish, arising out of the state of the law, according to which no baptized person could be a slave or held permanently in bondage. "The act of baptism being made equivalent to an act of manumission, it was to the owner's interest to keep the slaves in ignorance, and thus a law made to encourage Christianity actually prohibited it" (Theal).

An exactly parallel case is that of the Sudanese Mohammedans, who avoid preaching the doctrines of the Prophet to the surrounding heathen populations, because, according to the precepts of the Koran, all believers are exempt from servitude. Hence those populations are, so to say, kept like

¹ Theal, pp. 114, 115.

game in preserves, and from time to time raided and captured according to the demands of the slave market in North Africa (Nachtigal),

So in South Africa the aborigines were no longer evangelised, but "hunted down by commandos, in a manner which must ever leave a stigma upon the memory of the frontier colonists of the last [eighteenth] century. The usual course was for a farmer to complain to the landrost [district magistrate] that his cattle had been stolen by Hottentots or Bushmen; the landrost reported the matter to Government, and requested a supply of powder and lead, which was usually granted. The farmers of the district were then called together, and proceeded to attack the nearest kraals. No mercy was shown to adults, but the children were spared, to be parcelled out as servants amongst all the members of the commando. Many of the reports made by the commanders of these expeditions to their landrosts have been published from time to time, so that it is not alone from the statements of travellers that we are made aware of their proceedings. They themselves made no

attempt to conceal or gloss over what had been done, 'for most of them really believed that they were doing God a service by (as they expressed it) extirpating the heathen, root and branch."¹

Here again we have another parallel case, but this time as between Boers and Boers. The attitude of the Transvaal commandos towards the Bechuana natives (see above) in the nineteenth century differed in no respect from that of the Cape commandos in the eighteenth.

It is also important to notice, with a view to subsequent relations between the Boers and the British authorities on this question of servitude, how the law was at this time evaded, and temporary bondage practically made perpetual. It was provided that all children born of slaves should serve till they were twenty-five years old, and no longer. But by keeping them in ignorance of their age—although all births had to be registered—the owners were able to retain them in thralldom "till their strength was exhausted, and themselves so decrepit as to be useless,

¹ Theal, p. 116.

when they were discharged or provided for, according as their master was cruel or humane" (Theal).

Meanwhile the settlers had to be provided with wives, and about this time a number of respectable young women were selected from an Amsterdam orphanage, and sent out under conditions which reflect great credit on the administration. This step had the best results, and tended much to improve the tone of society, and consolidate the still fluctuating elements of the settlement. "The sailor-farmers who received these young women in marriage now began to look upon South Africa as their home, and endeavoured to gather property about them for the sake of their families" (Theal). Thus were evil influences balanced by good, and the race slowly prepared for the part which it was called upon to play in later times.

How urgently needed was this first purifying element, may be seen from the fact that irregular alliances had already been made by many of the farmers with the women of the surrounding Hottentot tribes, as well as of the Negro slaves from Angola and Mada-

gascar. It stands, for instance, on record, that so early as the year 1671 a regulation was made that all children who were the offspring of Europeans and slaves were to be instructed in the tenets of the Christian religion. Special care was also taken that these half-breeds were not to be made outcasts or held in perpetual servitude, but rather from their childhood brought up in such a way as would fit them for the enjoyment of that personal freedom to which they were considered to be entitled in virtue of their descent on the father's side from free citizens. A little later (1678) we are told that some of the slaves were emancipated for meritorious services, and placed on the same social footing as the free Burghers, while the number of half-breeds were rapidly increasing. A considerable number of these were undoubtedly merged in due course in the rising community, and to this element was first applied the term *Afrikander*, that is to say, any person of European descent betraying a strain of native (especially Hottentot) blood.

Later, when this coloured strain was practically obliterated by the increasing pre-

dominance of the white element, Afrikaner acquired a more comprehensive meaning, and in fact was extended to all the white populations born in the Colony and assumed to be of pure European descent.

Thus it happens that at present any African-born white person, whether of Dutch, English, or German origin, is an Afrikaner in the social, if not in the political, sense of the term. Even Britons will now often call themselves by this name; and all who become members of the *Africander Bond*, whatever their personal views and aspirations, accept the title as a matter of course.

Soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), the Huguenots began to arrive, and their appearance on the scene must be regarded as one of the chief turning-points in the social history of South Africa. The effect of the infusion of some of the very best blood of France on the somewhat heavy and certainly unrefined Dutch stock was strictly analogous to that caused by the intermingling of the Norman with the old Anglo-Saxon populations of England after the Conquest. In both cases it may be

compared to the action of leaven, by which the dead mass of dough is raised and lightened. The first arrivals (1687-88) numbered scarcely more than about three hundred, and with these were associated some of the persecuted Waldenses (Piedmontese) of the Alps, who had also been made to feel the effects of the intolerant religious spirit then rampant in all the lands subject to the sway or influence of Louis XIV.

It may excite surprise that more were not sent out, seeing that the Colony wanted hands, and that Holland was almost inundated by French Protestants fleeing from their persecutors. But the East India Company was still opposed to the idea of colonial expansion beyond the vicinity of the original settlement, which continued to be regarded as primarily a victualling station on the high road to the East. Moreover, just before that time the colonists had received a large accession to their numbers, drawn from the better classes of Dutch society. Amongst them were some substantial farmers, skilled craftsmen, and others, who received lands in the fertile district of Stellenbosch, and, being steady,

industrious, and religious, proved at first a valuable accession to the community.

Unfortunately, they also were supplied with slaves, and thus soon deteriorated to the level of the early settlers. But the Company thought them good and numerous enough for their particular purpose, and were accordingly most reluctant to send out too many foreigners, who might not be so easily kept under control. To guard against the danger of revolt or disaffection, the few Huguenots that were selected—being chosen mainly from those branches of industry, such as vine-culture and weaving, in which the Dutch were defective or altogether ignorant—were required to take a solemn oath of allegiance to the Company, and promise to conform to all the regulations imposed upon the other colonists. That is to say, they could not engage in trade, which was, and long continued to be, a monopoly of the ruling power; nor had they any voice in the local administration, being in fact nothing more than unpaid employees of the East India Company.

But the Huguenots, who were later joined by small parties of their fellow-countrymen,

rose above these depressing conditions, and soon proved themselves to be by far the best section of the community, from the social, industrial, and intellectual standpoints. "Some had been of high rank in France, others were manufacturers, others again vine-dressers and gardeners. Having lost everything in their flight, they landed in so destitute a condition that the authorities had to supply them in the same manner as discharged sailors and soldiers; but by their industry and frugality they soon placed themselves beyond the reach of want. It is from the date of their arrival that the manufacture of wine on a large scale was carried on."¹

It is also specially to be noticed that the French refugees brought with them an earnest religious feeling, which became contagious, and was soon spread to all the other settlers. Unfortunately, they could not maintain in the wilds of South Africa the same high level of culture by which they had been distinguished in their European homes.

Thus it happened that in course of a few generations their descendants, whose reading

¹ Theal, p. 90.

was mainly confined to the Bible, came to hold views repugnant in many respects to those of a progressive people, although it would, on the other hand, be impossible to exaggerate the value of the deep religious feeling which was so highly developed in them. "It enabled them to push their way singly into the interior, without schools or churches or shops, with only savages around them, yet without becoming savages themselves. A people less strong in faith would assuredly have been unable to do this. The practical part of their religion was drawn from the Old rather than from the New Testament: but where has this not been the case when Europeans have met races of another colour?"¹

What, it will be asked, has become of the French language? the common assumption being that the more intelligent section of the community ultimately imposes its speech on the masses. But there is no such general rule, and each case must be taken on its merits. No doubt, Rollo's rude Norse warriors became to all intents and purposes Frenchmen

¹ Theal, p. 91.

in their new Norman homes within a few generations—here the superior, or at least the more cultured, Gallo-Roman substratum proving too strong for them. But when these same French-speaking Normans, who are assumed to have been at that time the superior, or at all events the more highly cultured people, conquered Saxon England, they in their turn, in due course, became Englishmen, utterly forgot their French speech, and even failed to affect or appreciably influence the structure of the language of the masses, when they adopted it as their mother-tongue.

So in South Africa the more intellectual and more refined French Huguenots forgot their highly polished mother-tongue, and in a relatively short time spoke nothing but the rude Taal or Cape Dutch, which has never been cultivated. Here again other influences were at work, and at an early date (1728) practical measures were taken by the local administration to prevent the Dutch from being swamped by the French nationality.

Fully conscious of the fact that as a rule "the nation stands and falls with its

speech,"¹ they issued regulations, ordering all religious services to be conducted exclusively in Dutch, and, as at present in the Transvaal, no other language was tolerated in the law courts or in any public transactions. French was also banished from the schoolroom, together with the teachers and preachers, so that the acquisition of Dutch became a primary necessity with the Huguenot immigrants. In the course of a few years intermarriages also became frequent between the two sections of the population, which thus became rapidly blended in a single nationality of Dutch speech. In a word, the French language disappeared, partly through natural influences, partly because the local authorities willed that it should be so.

On the other hand, it is a remarkable fact that the French element in the present Boer population is out of all proportion with the small number of Huguenot immigrants in colonial times. This also is largely due to social causes, and is in complete harmony with the laws of natural selection, which are always

¹ "Das Volk steht und fällt mit der Sprache" (Ehrenreich, *Anthropologische Studien*, etc., 1897, p. 19).

and everywhere at work. "With the exception of those who had held superior appointments, comparatively few of the servants of the Company discharged after this date [1688] became the heads of families. They were usually men already past the vigour of life when their freedom commenced, and their habits had frequently been such as to prevent them from being accepted as husbands by the young white women of the settlement. To them most of the half-breeds owe their origin, though instances are not wanting of some among their number acquiring, not alone wealth, but distinction among the colonists. At present there can be very few, if any, Dutch South Africans without a mixture of Huguenot blood in their veins."¹

From a book published at Cape Town in 1854,² Mr. Theal gives the subjoined family names of the Huguenot immigrants, where those still surviving are printed in *italics*. A few errors or misprints which appear to have crept into the list are here tentatively corrected,

¹ Theal, *op. cit.*

² *Geschiedenis der Fransche Vlugteligen; Vertaald uit het Fransch.* By A. N. E. Chagnion.

and one or two omissions supplied in square brackets :—

<i>Avis.</i>	<i>Dubuisson.</i>
<i>Barret.</i>	<i>Desavoye.</i>
<i>Bachet.</i>	<i>Entreix.</i>
<i>Basson.</i>	<i>Fracha.</i>
<i>Bastions</i> [Bastian].	<i>Fouche.</i>
<i>Beaumons</i> [Beaumont].	<i>Floret.</i>
<i>Beck.</i>	<i>Foury.</i>
<i>Bénéret.</i>	<i>Ganche</i> [Gauche?].
<i>Bruet.</i>	<i>Gordiel.</i>
<i>Bota</i> [<i>Botha</i>].	<i>Gounay.</i>
<i>Camper.</i>	<i>Grellon.</i>
<i>Cellier.</i>	<i>Jacob.</i>
<i>Colbert</i> [now <i>Grobler</i> and <i>Grobbelaar</i>].	<i>Joubert.</i>
<i>Corprenant.</i>	<i>Jourdain.</i>
<i>Couteau.</i>	<i>La Grange.</i>
<i>Croquet.</i>	<i>Lanoy.</i>
<i>Daillé.</i>	<i>Laporte.</i>
<i>Debuze.</i>	<i>Lapretois.</i>
<i>Debeurieux.</i>	<i>Leclair.</i>
<i>Decabrière.</i>	<i>Lecrivant</i> [Lécrivant].
<i>Delporte.</i>	<i>Lefebvre.</i>
<i>Déporté.</i>	<i>Le Grand.</i>
<i>Deruel.</i>	<i>Le Riche.</i>
<i>Dumont.</i>	<i>Le Roux.</i>
<i>Deplessis</i> [Duplessis].	<i>Lombard.</i>
<i>Duprés</i> [Duprès].	<i>Longue</i> [Lange?].
<i>Dutoit.</i>	<i>Malan.</i>
<i>Durant.</i>	<i>Malherbe</i> [<i>Malesherbes</i>].
	<i>Maniet</i> [Meynier].

Marucène.	Senquette.
<i>Marais.</i>	Simon.
<i>Martinet.</i>	Tabordeux.
<i>Ménard.</i>	Taillefer.
<i>Niel.</i>	Tenaumant.
Norman.	<i>Terre Blanche.</i>
<i>Nortie.</i>	Terrier.
Passemán.	Terrout [Teyrout].
Peron.	Vallet.
<i>Pinards.</i>	Vanas [now <i>Van Aas?</i>].
Prévôt.	Vattré.
<i>Rassemus.</i>	Vaudray.
<i>Retif</i> [Rétif].	Verbal.
Richard.	<i>Villions</i> [Villon, now Viljoen?].
<i>Rousseau.</i>	<i>De Villiers.</i>
Roux.	Vyot [now <i>Fiot?</i>].
Sébatier.	Viton.
Sellier [Cellier, as above].	Vitreux.
<i>Sénécal.</i>	

Last in chronological order, as well as in numbers and general importance, is the third, or German, element which goes to the formation of the Boer nationality. A few adventurers and others had no doubt found their way to the Cape soon after its occupation by Van Riebeck. But no special reference is made to them as a distinct section of the community till the opening of the eighteenth century, when the Moravian missionaries

began to direct their attention to South Africa as a promising field for their ministrations. They found in 1706 that most of the whites in the station were their own fellow-countrymen, nearly all engaged as soldiers or officials in the service of the Netherlands Company ; and it is known from other sources that at one time the Germans—not farmers, but mainly servants of the Company—were very numerous. But, being chiefly concerned with their spiritual welfare, the Brothers made the further discovery that these Teutons, all of the Lutheran persuasion, had become quite indifferent to religious matters, pleading in excuse that they found it quite impossible to serve God so well in Africa as in the Fatherland.

Then it is recorded that in the first quarter of the century the German settlers, like the French Huguenots, had already given up their mother-tongue, and were all everywhere merged in the Dutch community, from which they could no longer be distinguished except by their family names. Even this test could not always be depended upon, owing to the near kinship of the Dutch and German languages ; so that a German name readily took

on a Dutch form by the assumption of a *van*, or some other slight change. Some, such as Kruger, were even identical; and as there are Van Riebecks in Holland, so there are Riebecks in Saxony.

In 1729 an event took place, which, while throwing a lurid light on the general relations of the Colony, shows incidentally that some of the Germans belonged to the better educated classes. At that time the settlement was under the heel of Van Noot, the very worst of the many bad governors sent out by the Company. During his misrule discontent was universal, and in order to stamp out sedition he ordered the summary execution of seven soldiers who had conspired to desert. Of these, two were German theological students, who, repenting of their rebellious act, essayed also to convert their fellow-culprits, and prepare them for the next world. All were hanged in succession; and when it came to the last, one of the two German students, he, turning towards the Residence, summoned Van Noot to appear at that very hour before the Judgment Seat. The tradition runs that the Governor was there and then found dead

in the large audience-hall. Thereupon the joyful cry was raised that "*Noot is Dood*," that is (by a play on the word *noot*, "need," distress), *Need is dead*, Distress is no more! The cry was then echoed in all quarters, with the addition, *Nu is er geen Nood*, "Now there is no need," no further trouble; but whether the addition was made at the time, or was a later touch, does not appear.

The words above quoted are in pure *Taal* (Cape Dutch), and it may here be asked what inherent virtues did this rude provincial dialect possess, that it should gain such an apparently easy triumph, not only over its French and German rivals, but even over the literary and official language of Holland itself? The question is perhaps best answered by a consideration of the influences under which it was developed in a few generations into a distinct and highly characteristic form of speech.

To this interesting subject a valuable contribution was made in 1899 by Mr. D. C. Hesseling,¹ who rightly distinguishes between the structure and the vocabulary of *Afrikaansch*,

¹ *Het Afrikaansch: Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Taal in Zuid-Afrika* (Leyden).

as the Netherlanders call it. The structure is highly analytio, that is to say, the Taal stands in this respect in the same relation to standard Dutch that, for instance, the Early English of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries stands to the Old English (Anglo-Saxon) of pre-Norman times. There is a wholesale rejection of grammatical endings, which are replaced by particles, but otherwise no traces are shown of foreign influences.

This is a universal law in the evolution of speech, which tolerates no outside interference with its inner mechanism, though this may be modified, taken to pieces, and put together again by internal (organic) growth more or less stimulated by outward pressure. No foreign elements are taken up in the process, or if they are, they have to conform ultimately to the general character of the grammatical forms. Thus, in English the dead Latin negative *in* shows a tendency to yield to the living Saxon negative *un*; and if we still say *in-justice*, the adjective has already become *un-just*, while even *un-justice* is beginning to be heard. But the reverse process never takes place; and although hundreds of Latin

(and French) words take *un*, not a single Saxon word has ever submitted to *in*.

Now, this principle is in complete harmony with the structural evolution of Taal, which has simply discarded the Dutch inflections, without borrowing any either from French or German, or from Portuguese, Hottentot, Bantu, Malay, or any of the other tongues with which it was constantly in contact. It remains in this respect a pure Dutch dialect, of which the utmost that can be said is that its rapid progress in the direction of analysis may have been accelerated by pressure from without. The Hottentots, Bantus, Malays, and others at the station soon began to talk Taal, in a broken sort of way, as the general medium of intercourse, and in their mouths it may have assumed somewhat the character of a jargon ; but it was preserved from ruin—such ruin as has fallen, for instance, upon the old Chinook language of the Columbia River in North America—by the Dutch settlers, in whose homes its normal development was continued independently of all external influences.

But these influences acted, as they always do, on its vocabulary ; and here arises the

question whence come the rather numerous foreign words now current in Cape Dutch? Strange to say, very few are either French or German. These two competitors were simply killed right out, leaving little evidence of their former presence except in the now more or less modified forms of family names, as in the above list. To explain this phenomenon, it is to be remembered that, as already explained, there were for a long time no settlers, but only the Company's people, resident in and about the station. Whence, therefore, came the foreign elements? Obviously, for the most part—one might say altogether—from the crews of vessels plying between Europe and the East, and calling at the Cape for fresh supplies. Most of these vessels no doubt flew the Dutch flag, but Malays formed a large proportion of the crews; while others of the same race were living at the Cape, either as slaves, or convicts sent there for crimes committed in the Indies. At that time, also, despite the decadence of Portugal, the Portuguese language was still, what English has since become, the *lingua franca* of all seafaring peoples in the Indian Ocean.

From these two sources, one might therefore naturally suppose, were introduced nearly all the foreign elements in Cape Dutch, and the assumption is borne out by an examination of the words themselves. Such, for instance, is *assegai*, in Taal *assegai* (see *Terminology*), although wrongly derived by Hesseling from Bantu (Kafir). The settlers borrowed no words from the Kafirs, with whom they had no relations till towards the close of the eighteenth century, when they reached the Great Fish River, ethnical parting-line between Hottentot and Bantu from time out of mind.

Nor did they take anything beyond perhaps half a dozen topical and other terms from the Hottentots, whose language, with every other word beginning with a click, was unpronounceable, and never learnt by anybody. How could many words be taken from a language which Schulz likens to "the clicking of a multitude of different rusty old gun-locks simultaneously set in motion? It is simply appalling to hear the fatty click gut tkoot, tick lick mktchuk gtkowktok gtu-gkti-gkkij, accompanied by many gurglings, etc." ¹ This

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 180.

language was soon dropped by all the half-breeds themselves, who, then as now, speak Cape Dutch.

The rudeness and rapid disintegration of this idiom may perhaps be explained by the low class of society from which the great body of the first immigrants was drawn (see above). It might almost be argued that literary Dutch, which to the end remained the official language, was never current at all in the settlement, except amongst the handful of educated people engaged in the Company's service. The case seems analogous to that of the vulgar or colloquial forms of Latin (*Sermo plebeius*; *Lingua rustica*, etc.) which were from the first current in the Roman provinces (Gaul, Iberia, Italy, etc.), and from which (not from the classic language) have sprung the present neo-Latin tongues (French, Spanish, Italian, etc.). Only these have been purified by much culture, a process to which Cape Dutch has not yet been subjected.

We may therefore conclude that Taal—a rugged but forcible tongue, full of terse and happy idiomatic expressions—is an aberrant form of Dutch speech, which has been normally developed in the direction of analysis, perhaps

under slight outward pressure, and affected in its vocabulary by a considerable number of foreign elements, drawn chiefly from Malayo-Portuguese sources, with a few later additions from English. Whether it will ever be raised to the status of a cultured language will depend upon political considerations which cannot here be forecast.

Subjoined are a few words and idioms, which will help to illustrate the foregoing remarks on the terseness and other features of the Taal:¹—

ASSEMBLIEF, “if you please”; Dutch, *Als 't u beliebt*; cf. Ger. *wie es Ihnen beliebt*.

AYA, ayah, a nurse, lady's maid, from Port. *aia*, whence Hindi and Malay *ayá*.

BAING, BAIGN, BAJANG, much, very, as in *Hij is baing moeg*, “he is quite done up” (drunk), seems to be from the Fr. *bien*, as in *il est bien ivre*.

BAKEN, to prate, as in *Hij bak' kluitjes*, “he tells fibs”; Hindi, *bakna*, to prate, chatter, etc.

BAKKLEI, to fight, seems a corrupt Malay form of Port. *batalhar*, to fight, do battle; *tl* often becomes *kl*, as in *Klings* for *Tlings* (Telingas, Telugus).

BLAZEN, to lie, in *Hij blaas*, he bounces, lies; not Dutch *blazen*, to blaze, but from Fr. *blaguer*, to boast, lie, etc.

¹ Taken (with added remarks) from Hubertus Elffers' *Commercial Dutch Grammar* (Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1896, p. 358 sq.).

BLIJ, to bide, dwell: *Waar blij hij?* "where lives he?"
cf. Old Eng. *belifan*, and Goth. *bileiban*, to remain
over, leave, live; cf. Lat. *superesse*.

BOK, buck, goat: *Hij het die bok bij die stert gehad*, "he
has had the goat by*the tail" (he has returned from
the brink of the grave).

BOORD, orchard; Dutch, *Bongerd, boomgaard* (beam, i.e.
tree, *ysrd*); cf. Ger. *Baumgarten*.

DIAMANT, an exclamation of surprise, as in *Hij graaf
diamant!* (at sight of a man falling from his horse);
Port. *demonio*; cf. Ital. *didmine*, for *diavolo*, used in this
very sense; and Eng. *the devil!*

DOEN, done up, done for; *Die perd is gedaan*, "that horse
is done for;" which in Dutch would be, *Het is gedaan
met dat paard*.

DON, done for: *'t is don met hom*, "he is done for"; this
is the Eng. *done*.

FRISCH, frisk, fresh, well: *Hoe vaar je nog?* *Frisch, dankie*,
"How do you do?" "Well, thank you"; cf. vulg.
Ger. *frisch*.

GETIPS, tipsy (undoubtedly Eng.).

GRIEKSCH, Greek, gibberish: *Hij praat Grieksch*, "he talks
nonsense"; cf. Hispano-American *Gringo* = *Griego*, a
Greek, a foreigner; and Eng. "that's Greek to me."

HOED, hat (hood): *Druk vas(t) die hoed*, "make your hat
fast," i.e. run for your life.

JUFFER, young woman, lady; from *jonc vrouwe*; Ger.
jungfer; idiom. *Ou' juffer tijd genoeg*, said of a slow-
coach.

KAALVOET, bare-footed; Dutch, *blootsvoets*; Old Dutch,
cale, calu; Old Eng. *cealu*, whence *callow*; Ger. *kahl*,
bare; cognate with Lat. *calvus*.

KAFIR, KAFFIR ; see text, p. 98.

KANIS, dog, pig, an abusive term, in *Jou syerige kanis!* "you dirty pig!" is the Lat. *canis*, dog, introduced by the German students (see text).

KOOL, cabbage (Scotch, *kail*): *Kool zonder spek*, "cabbage without bacon," i.e. a ladies' party without gentlemen.

LEK, to lick: *Ik zal ver jou lek*, "I'll give you a licking" (Eng.).

MIDDEL, middle: *Ik is in die middel*, "I'm in the middle," in a fix; probably from Eng. *muddle* (root *mud*, mess).

MUKSTOK, a short forked stick for propping the shaft of a cart: *Hij is een mukstok*, "he is short-legged."

NOV, a lady: *Een gave noy*, "a clever, accomplished lady"; Port. *noiva*, a bride.

OOLIK, upset, knocked up: *Na vroolijheid komt oolikhed*, "after the fling comes the sting."

PEPER, pepper: *Mijn peper is zoo goed als jou saffraan*, "my pepper is as good as your saffron," I'm as good as you.

PEPERKORREL, peppercorn; the Bushmen,—so called from their tufted woolly hair.

PIENANGVLEESCH, curried meat, introduced by the Malays from the island of *Penang*.

SAROET, cigar; from Eng. *cheroot*.

SPOOR, track, trail; whence Eng. *spoor*: *Pas op trap in jou spoor*, "keep to your spoor" (your waggon track), walk straight, behave properly.

STERT, tail: *Zijn stert val af*, "his tail falls off," he is mad with rage; from the popular idea that a lizard may get into such a fury that its tail will snap off.

TANDENTREKKER, tooth-drawer, dentist : *Hij lieg' als een tandentrekker*, "he lies like a dentist" (a trooper); with *tand* cf. Goth. *tunthus*, Old Saxon *tand*, Old Eng. *tōdh*, Lat. *den(t)s*,—whence *dentist*; Sanskrit *danta*; well preserved in Taal *tand*; perhaps from Aryan root *ed* (*eat*).

THEE, tea; *Die thee trek' in hom*, "the tea (wine) is drawing to his head," he is getting "well on."

TREE, to tread, step, walk : *Hij tree af*, "he steps out" (goes ahead).

VAALPENSEN, the aborigines of Transvaal, most primitive of all South African natives; hence the term is sarcastically applied by the (polished) Cape Dutch to their (rude) Transvaal kinsmen.

VIJFTIEN, fifteen (days), a fortnight (fourteen nights), is from French usage; cf. *quinze jours*, a fortnight. The southern Aryans counted by days, the northern by nights, and the French, starting from Sunday, threw in an extra day, so as to include both Sundays, and thus persuaded themselves that they had three holidays in the fortnight.

WA', short for *wagen*: *Zijn wa' is gesmeer*, "his waggon has got fouled," he has had a mishap.

WARM, warm : *Ik zal ver jou warm maak*, "I'll warm you" (Eng. idiom).

WA'-WIEL-OOREN, "waggon-wheel-ears," big outstanding ears.

ZOUT, salt : *Die perd is al gezout*, "that horse is quite salted," *i.e.* has had the horse-sickness, and is now thoroughly seasoned. In *zout* *s* is voiced to *z*, and *l* is lost. The steps are : Old Saxon *salt*, Early Dutch *sout*, New Dutch *zout*.

From the incident mentioned at pp. 172-3 it will be seen that there was plenty of "need" amongst the settlers long before the advent of the English. It may be stated in a general way that the Company's system of government was directly calculated to create such need, in the twofold sense of the term. The regulations were such as produced the highest degree of disaffection with the lowest of comfort and prosperity. "In Cape Town and its neighbourhood the colonists were kept in such subjection that laws were even made to regulate their clothing, and that of their wives and children, and to determine who should and who should not carry an umbrella. But on the ever-extending frontier the white man did exactly what he chose. The graziers there led an indolent life, and not a few of them had become nomads. They were exceedingly hospitable, so that, though there was no such thing as a wayside inn, a stranger found no difficulty in travelling from one end of the Colony to the other. Everywhere he was welcome to stay as long as he pleased, but was expected to conform to the habits of his hosts. From travellers the inhabitants got

all the news they ever heard, for there were neither newspapers nor posts in the country. Once in his lifetime the grazier was compelled to visit Cape Town for the purpose of getting married, but many of them never visited it afterwards. They obtained nearly all they required from their herds. What money they needed was procured in exchange for slaughtered cattle and sheep, which were sent in droves to town upon the arrival of a fleet. Besides these, butter was almost the only article they had to dispose of. This they sent to Cape Town when they required clothing or ammunition. Their dwelling-houses were mostly rude buildings of two rooms each, with earthen floors and unglazed windows, and were nearly devoid of furniture. Cattle had become with them, as with the Hottentots, the sole source and representative of wealth."¹

Besides their harsh and irritating system of administration, the Company created a direct inducement to restless migratory habits by the policy adopted towards the squatters, as those settlers farthest removed from their immediate control might be called. For the

¹ Theal, p. 113.

Company the land in the unknown interior had practically no value. Hence they were only too willing to lease it out to the half-nomad graziers at less than prairie valuation. The right to dispose of it at all might, indeed, well have been questioned. The Company had never proclaimed the inland region as a whole; nor had any claim ever been set up for territorial rights east or north beyond the Great Fish River, the boundary towards the Kafir domain (which was not reached much before the year 1780), and the Zeekoe (Hippopotamus) River, a short distance west of the present town of Colesberg, where a landmark was set up by Governor Van Plettenberg in the year 1778.

Should, therefore, any of the outlying groups of farmers choose to move farther afield beyond the region thus delimited, and set up for themselves under an independent administration in the midst of the wilderness, there appeared to be no law, as there certainly was no power, at the Cape to prevent them from doing so. On the other hand, the policy pursued towards them was eminently calculated to drive them beyond the borders. The vast

tracts of land, which were leased at almost a nominal rental, fostered a roving disposition, and enabled them to move farther and farther to escape the meddlesome interference of the central authorities.

Even at that time a number of squatters were already wandering about with their herds, not beyond the political limits of the Colony, but beyond the districts where allotments had been made. Here they found themselves practically beyond the reach of the authorities, and the temptation to extend the range of their pasturage became irresistible. They could not, nor did they attempt to, bring these extensive grazing-grounds under cultivation: pastoral habits greatly prevailed over strictly agricultural pursuits, and then, as now, they were satisfied, even in the more settled parts, with tilling a little area round about the homestead, just large enough to raise a little corn or vegetables for the use of the household. On most of the farms in Transvaal, where the allotments range from 6000 to 8000 or 10,000 acres and upwards, very little land is brought under cultivation, even in the more favoured districts enjoying every facility for

irrigation. To those political economists who urge them to make more profitable use of the land, the almost invariable reply of the farmers is, "What was good enough for our fathers is good enough for us"; thus plainly showing that their present habits are deeply rooted in colonial times.

After the prosperous period (1771-1785) which had marked the wise administration of Van Plettenberg, a return was made to the old evil ways. Protests and petitions against intolerable grievances were alike unavailing, and were even met with insults, as when the settlers were officially told that they were treated as well as they deserved to be. The reply to one appeal for redress was, that "it would be mere waste of words to dwell on the remarkable distinction to be drawn between Burghers whose ancestors had nobly fought for and conquered their freedom from tyranny, and from whose fortitude in the cause of liberty the very power of our Republic had sprung, and such as are named Burghers here, who have been permitted, as matter of grace, to have a residence in a land of which possession has been taken by the sovereign power,



there to gain a livelihood as tillers of the earth, tailors, and shoemakers. The object of paramount importance in legislation for colonies should be the welfare of the parent State."

But at that very moment that very principle of colonial administration was being successfully challenged by the colonies of Great Britain in North America. The news of the revolt, followed by the Declaration of Independence, soon reached the Cape, and here, as elsewhere, quickened the smouldering embers of discontent. What Britons could do, the sturdy Dutch colonist felt that he also might attempt; and from that moment their aspirations were directed towards new objects: abolition of all trade monopolies, personal freedom, and the right of self-government in all local affairs. In other words, the dependency should be administered primarily in the interests of the land and its people, and only in the second degree in those of the metropolis.

Everything was therefore ready for a change, and, even before the advent of the English, revolts had actually broken out in some of

the rural districts. A national party had established itself at Swellendam, and another body of Burghers were in open revolt at Graaf Reinet. In fact, the whole people were fully prepared for their now pending new destinies.

By this time they had been merged in a single homogeneous nationality, with common primitive institutions, common speech, religion, and aspirations, and, above all, a singularly uniform temperament, moulded to its present shape under the harsh conditions of an oppressive colonial régime.

This temperament, on which so much later depended, was characterised especially by such forcible qualities as a passionate sense of personal independence, an unquenchable love of freedom,—this largely inherited from their Dutch ancestry,—a restless spirit shared by a large section of the community with all pastoral peoples, combined with thrift and frugality in the homestead, and a narrow religious sentiment not far removed from fanaticism.

Their physical qualities, developed and improved in a climate well adapted to the

European constitution, were of the same rugged character, — large bony frames above the average height, great strength and endurance under protracted hardships, a somewhat ungainly carriage, rather ill-favoured features, large extremities, and figures more suited for a rustic than an urban life.

This preference for a country over a town existence, for farming and especially stock-breeding pursuits over trade industries or the professions, was noticed by the Rev. James Macdonald, one of the closest observers of the Boer temperament. "Our more stolid Dutchman," he writes, "does not take kindly to this busy cosmopolitan life [in Cape Town], and has practically retired to the country, where his cattle, his pipe, coffee, and occasional 'soopie,' afford him employment, solace, and hilarity more in the direction of his tastes and inclinations. Certain modes of life develop corresponding habits, and it is not to be wondered at that men roaming over illimitable plains, tending cattle and carrying their whole possessions in a single waggon, should have acquired habits of indolence which it will take generations to eradicate. The Boer

himself, absolute master of these wide domains, free alike from the calls of the tax-gatherer and the conscript, usually left his flocks and herds to the care of his Hottentot slaves. His pipe seldom quitted his mouth except when he slept, or ate his three daily meals of mutton sodden in fat. The good lady of the house, equally disdainful of toil, remained almost as immovable as her lord. She usually sat in a chair, having before her a table always well supplied with hot coffee, while her daughters sat with folded arms, resembling articles of furniture more than ordinary human beings. The sons spent their time hunting, or breaking in young horses. No diversion ever broke the monotony of this existence. Newspapers never penetrated the vast solitudes of the Karroo. Ignorance, stupidity, and prejudice found here a rich soil in which to thrive, and the fruits of it are to-day manifest in the condition of the northern border of the Transvaal Republic. With all this ignorance, and practically nomadic mode of life, hospitality hardly knew any bounds. The stranger opened the door, shook hands with the master, kissed the mistress, and, with a nod to the

younger members, took his seat, and was welcome."¹

It is to be noticed that in this community there were no social grades. All were farmers, and nothing but farmers; all held equal rank as free Burghers, and the few artisans, officials, and men of the higher professions were scarcely looked upon as true citizens, but rather as the instruments by which the Company enforced its oppressive enactments. They were for the most part crowded together at the station, which was the only place deserving the name of town; and here they remained, to form the nucleus of a middle class, when in later years a great body of their countrymen moved northwards beyond the control of the civil authorities.

Not only were there no social grades, but, from the subjoined Table of Areas and Populations in the Four Administrative Districts towards the close of the eighteenth century, it will be seen that the great majority of the inhabitants were not even farmers, but nominally free Hottentots, and slaves (Hottentots, Malays, Kafirs, and others):—

¹ *Light in Africa*, 1890, p. 4.

TABLE OF AREAS AND POPULATIONS.

Districts.	Area insq. miles.	Population about the year 1800.			
		Whites.	Slaves.	Free Natives.	Total.
The Cape .	?	6,000	12,000	2,000	20,000
Stellenbosch with Drakenstein }	?	7,000	11,000	5,000	23,000
Swellendam .	?	4,000	2,000	5,000	11,000
Graaff Reinet .	?	4,000	1,000	9,000	14,000
Total .	120,000	21,000	26,000	21,000	68,000

Note.—The district areas are not given separately ; but the area of the whole Colony is stated to have been about 120,000 square miles, towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Such were the people who for the first time came under the British colonial administration in the year 1795, when the Cape, by arrangement with the ex-Stadtholder, was occupied by England to save it from the grasp of the French Revolutionary forces, at that time overrunning Holland. But the English had not come to stay, and the place was rather held in trust till 1803, when it was restored to Holland after the Treaty of

Amiens. But they returned in 1806, and took permanent possession by right of conquest, Holland at that time forming a member of the many-headed Napoleonic Empire.

During the first tenure they had in no way disturbed local arrangements, beyond abolishing the practice of extorting confessions by the rack, introducing some urgently needed fiscal reforms, and a few other salutary measures. But after 1815, when the Cape was finally ceded to England, with Ceylon and some other possessions of Holland over the seas, great changes were made, excellent in themselves, but in the actual circumstances grievous blunders. The first batch of British immigrants, four thousand in number, had arrived in 1820, and received lands in the fertile Albany district, about Algoa Bay towards the Kafir frontier, where is now Port Elizabeth. But although then, and long after, the Dutch settlers outnumbered the English by about six or eight to one, steps were taken (1826-28) to substitute English processes for the old Dutch system.

English was made the official language, whereas Dutch should obviously have been

at least placed on a footing of equality, as was long afterwards done. Then the old Dutch system of local administration was abolished, with all the *Landrosts* and *Heemraaden* (see *Terminology*), for which were substituted Resident Magistrates and Civil Commissioners, just as if the Cape were an English Colony, not merely in the political but in the strictly social sense of the word—a Colony like Virginia, for instance, and later “Australia” and “New Zealand.”

Here were laid the first germs of bitterness against the new rulers, and the feeling was intensified by an ordinance declaring free coloured men equal before the law with whites. As these free natives were still probably more numerous than the Dutch and English together (see p. 193), it was feared that they would next receive the franchise for local elections, outvote the farmers, and thus become the dominant party in the Colony.

Then came a veritable thunderclap, when in 1834 the slaves themselves were emancipated (see p. 89), and consequently also became equal in law to all other citizens. At that time, for reasons already stated, almost

the only industries were tillage and stock-breeding, which were entirely carried on by slave labour. To prevent a dislocation of the economic relations, and the other calamities that might be caused by too sudden an application of the Act of Abolition, a respite of four years' was no doubt granted, during which period the owners might retain the services of the slaves as "apprentices." But this was considered too short a time to prepare for the altered conditions, while an immediate loss of about £2,000,000 was actually incurred, despite the compensation granted to the owners on the basis of the officially appraised value of their slaves. These numbered at the time nearly 36,000, and were valued at £3,000,000, being an average of about £85 each. But only £1,247,000 was appropriated to the Cape, and as this was made payable in London, further losses were incurred by the charges of agents whom the farmers had to employ to obtain their share of the amount awarded. Some even declined to apply at all, and, after all claims had been met, a small balance still remained, which was afterwards assigned to the Education Department in aid

of the local mission schools. Others, such as helpless widows and aged farmers unpropped by young arms, were utterly ruined, while almost every homestead felt the pinch of distress.

This was, no doubt, the primary but not the immediate cause of the great exodus to the wilds of the interior. The direct incentive arose from the terrible Kafir war of 1834-35, on the conclusion of which the Imperial Government committed one of those almost inconceivable blunders which were due to the clash between sentiment and common-sense already adverted to (p. 118). During that wholly unprovoked outburst of savage fury, both the English and the Dutch settlers in the eastern provinces had suffered heavy losses in life and property, and had also joined and aided the regular forces in stemming the tide of invasion, and restoring order throughout the eastern border-lands of the Colony. But they neither received any compensation on this occasion, nor any redress for other real or fancied wrongs extending over a period of fully fourteen years.

But what made their position almost hope-

less, and did actually drive them to expatriation, was the fatuous action of the Home authorities in undoing the work of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who had been appointed Governor just before the war, and had taken most wise and effective measures to prevent its recurrence. Two pictures of the Kafir case had been held before the gaze of the British public, and brought into the council chambers of the Colonial Office. They were as different as the pictures of Hamlet's father and uncle, and the wrong one was chosen. It depicted the Kafirs (Gaikas, Galekas, and others) as noble savages, victims of the greed and aggressive encroachments of the white settlers, from whom they had patiently endured endless wrongs before they at last ventured to turn, like the proverbial worm, and so forth.

The real picture portrayed them in their true light—treacherous and cruel hordes, accustomed from of old to raid, plunder, and murder, restless under restraint, and ever ready to fall upon their weaker neighbours, whatever their race or colour. Sir Benjamin, who was a man of rare intelligence, and was on the spot, knew this to be true, and accord-



ingly took admirable measures to prevent fresh outbreaks. He established, in the Roman manner, a strong cordon of half-military half-civil colonists in the "Mesopotamia" between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma, to which the frontiers had been advanced. He, moreover, erected an advanced rampart, by granting lands between the Keiskamma and the Great Kei Rivers to native tribes of whose loyalty he was assured, and of whose devotion he intended in any case to make sure, by raising a chain of forts in their midst. Had these ramparts been strengthened with occasion, or simply left alone, the land would have been spared another series of those frightful "Kafir wars," which were protracted over a great part of the nineteenth century (1812-76), and whose grim records fill many bulky volumes in the Home and Colonial archives.

But the ramparts were not left alone: they were ruthlessly pulled down by the despatch of 26th December 1835, sent out by Charles Grant (later Lord Glenelg), in which it was proclaimed, to the consternation of the English settlers and the despair of their then Boer

associates in misery, that they were the aggressors, that the Kafirs were their innocent victims; consequently, that Sir Benjamin's measures taken or about to be taken for safeguarding the exposed districts must be stopped, and his whole frontier policy reversed.

"A communication more cruel, unjust, and insulting to the feelings—not only of the Commander, who, wholly intent upon conciliatory measures with the Kafirs, had been suddenly attacked, and seen the country placed under his authority and protection invaded, but of the inhabitants, who had not only been engaged in a twelve months' warfare of the most harassing and dangerous character, but who were smarting from a system pursued during fourteen years, by the local Government never affording them redress of their most serious losses and grievances—can hardly have been penned, even by a declared enemy of the country and its Governor."¹

These remarks were fully justified by the language of the despatch, in which the Colonial Secretary, unfortunately a member of the Abo-

¹ Judge Cloete, quoted by W. B. Worsfold, *South Africa*, 1897, p. 32.

rigines Protection Society, and therefore presumably a partisan, ventured to assert that "in the conduct which was pursued towards the Kafir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the Colony, through a long series of years, the Kafirs had ample justification of the late war. They had to resent, and endeavoured justly, though impotently, to avenge a series of encroachments; they had the perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain; and the claim of sovereignty over the new province (province of Queen Adelaide) must be renounced. It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war in which, so far as I am at present able to judge, the original justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party."

We seem to be reading the sentiments of some of those later statesmen of the Glenelg type, whose first thoughts were always for the alien, their last for their country—men who were ever ready to champion the rights of others and neglect their own; who could smile, and smile, and smile away an empire.

Meanwhile the philanthropist had gained a suicidal victory over the men of action, the immediate consequence of which was the Boer exodus, plunging South Africa into countless woes, which at the close of the nineteenth century had not yet come to an end.

To do justice to the views of our opponents, we should study the questions at issue from their standpoint, without forgetting our own. Soon after the outbreak of the present war, two sermons were preached on the same day by two parsons,—one at Cape Town, the other at Stellenbosch,—both doubtless earnest and truthful men, but one Dutch, and, therefore on the Boer side, the other British, and therefore on the English. From the subjoined parallel extracts from their sermons, it will be seen how possible it is to place two extremely antagonistic views in a favourable light.

THE BOER VIEW—
CAPE TOWN.

• This war will not destroy our nation. It will strengthen us. We are bound to those in the Republics by ties of closest kinship; we are one people, one nation, one kin. Nothing

THE BRITISH VIEW—
STELLENBOSCH.

If our brethren of the Dutch Church would only listen, my words would take the form of a message, and my message to-day would be: For God's sake, brother, give up this

divides us save those rivers which mark the boundaries of our land. It is useless to say that war will break our union. It will do no such thing. It will weld those bonds which bind us in brotherhood and religion stronger and stronger, as it welded the Netherlands in their struggle against the dazzling and mighty world-empire of Spain.—*God en ons recht* (God and our right).

sentimental whining in what you are pleased to call "crying to God." Have done with your days of humiliation, and open your eyes to the facts of life around you. And when you see God's eternal truth, go forth and teach your people that you are fighting against God's will—that they are fighting the cause of tyranny, corruption, race-hatred, dissension, and strife; while she whom they call their enemy is trying to save them from themselves, and is fighting for the very charter of human liberty and progress; and with the blood of the very best of her sons is purchasing the peace, progress, and prosperity of this country.

These will serve as very good texts wherewith to weigh in the balance the events that are now to follow. It will be noticed at the outset, that while the general question is as between Boer and Briton, the appeal on the one hand is to kinship, on the other to freedom, progress, and justice. From Glenelg to Salisbury is a far cry, and in the interval it will be found that the wheel has made a com-

plete half-turn. When the farmers struck their tents and again pitched them on the plateau beyond the British frontier, they had assuredly both right and justice on their side. Of freedom there was no question, because there was no tyranny or oppression, but only social grievances capable of redress by constitutional means.

But through the fatuous policy of the then Government they were neglected, and their persons and property exposed to imminent danger on the Kafir side, after the removal of Sir Benjamin's barriers. Here, therefore, arose the natural right of self-defence, by emigrating to safer homes; and although those homes lay outside British jurisdiction, it was above shown (p. 185) that there was no law to bar the movement, so that here again right and justice was on their side. For many generations streams of migration have been directed from all the European States without let or hindrance to foreign lands, and at that time the region beyond the Orange was for England a foreign land. It was afterwards proclaimed; and then arose a conflict of rights and interests, which one might say is still pending.

But for the moment anticipating the final issue, this much may be said, that when the emigrant farmers transformed themselves to an armed militia, and their land to a fortified camping-ground, their rights lapsed. They had become a deadly menace to higher rights, to Imperial interests, which extended without challenge from the Cape through Bechuana-land to the Zambesi, and were independent of all conventions. As this is the present position, the Boers have now placed themselves in the wrong, and the wrong is intensified when they further proceed, from whatever motive, to trample upon the rights of others, more especially if this can be shown to be in direct violation of the terms of international conventions. This being also the case, we see at once how it is that the Dutch pastor is now able to appeal only to the argument of kinship and brotherhood, while the British pastor rests his case on the stronger ground of freedom and justice outraged by "tyranny and corruption." How the transition from right in 1835 to wrong in 1899 came about, will now be disclosed.

CHAPTER IX

THE BOERS : INDEPENDENCE

The Great Trek—Settlement of Transvaal—"Natalia" and Natal—Pretorius—The Transvaal Constitution—From Democracy to Oligarchy—The Sand River Convention—The South African Republic—The Diamond-fields—The Keate Award—The Sekukuni War—The Collapse—British Annexation—Sir Bartle Frere and Federation—The Triumvirs—The Revolt—Majuba and the Great Surrender—Reasons and Reflections—An Oversight—Gold and the New Era—Oligarchs and Outlanders—Lord Loch intervenes—The Jameson Raid—Belated Imperial Awakening—Joubert and Lobengula—The Forts and Armaments—Transvaal Finance, 1886-1900—The International Aspect of the Outlander Question—A Budget of Grievances—Paramountcy and Intervention—The Kruger-Milner Conference—The Ultimatum—Summary of Boer Rights and Wrongs.

NO accurate statistics were taken of the number of Burghers who took part in the Great Trek, which was extended almost uninterruptedly over the years 1835-38. But they were approximately estimated at about ten thousand; and so eager were they to place

themselves beyond the reach of British jurisdiction, that whole districts, especially in the eastern parts of the Colony, threatened to become depopulated. The chief incentives to the movement were, briefly, the desire to retain their "apprentices" in permanent bondage; the desire to restore the Dutch system of local administration, which had been replaced by English methods; the general yearning for more personal freedom and national independence; and, lastly, the very real dread of fresh Kafir inroads after the surrender of the province of Queen Adelaide.

This indeed is stated by some authorities to have been the chief motive, and even Theal writes that "the insecurity of life and property that arose from the arrangements with the Kafirs in 1836 tended more than anything else to extend the emigration movement" (p. 231). It may have been so at the moment, but the "apprentice" question lay deeper, as directly affecting the whole social system of the people. In any case, so anxious were they to get away, that many sold their lands and immovables for what they could fetch, and joined the Trek with their families and house-

hold effects stowed away in great lumbering canvas-covered waggons, drawn by long teams of long-horned oxen.

Their migrations to Natal and to the plateau, where they spread themselves with extraordinary rapidity over the whole region from the Orange to the head-waters of the Limpopo, between the years 1835-40, have already been followed. A summary has also been given of the events which, after the British proclamation of Natal and the abandonment of the Republic of "Natalia" beyond the Drakenberg (1843), led up to the constitution of the Orange Free State (1854). From that time the relations of the Free Staters with the paramount Power continued to be outwardly of a peaceful nature down to the year 1889, when they threw in their lot with their northern kinsmen by the Treaty of Potchefstroom, which was enlarged by that of Bloemfontein (1897), drawn up by Presidents Kruger and Steyn, and, as soon afterwards appeared, constituted a formal offensive and defensive alliance between the two Boer States.

Attention may now, therefore, be concentrated on the settlement and subsequent vicis-

situdes of the northern and larger section of the land beyond the Vaal. Here it should be noticed that this river was at first in no sense a political frontier, and that the emigrant farmers crossed it freely from south to north, and back again, lending each other mutual aid according as pressure came from one side or the other. Some of the southern groups had gone with their Barolong allies to the assistance of the Transvaalers in their hard struggle with Mosilikatsi and his Zulu impis in the Marico district. We have also seen how Pretorius led a commando southwards to the help of the Bloemfontein people against the English, and was routed by Sir Harry Smith at the encounter of Bloomplaats (1848).

At that time the whole region was regarded as virtually a single political, as it certainly was a single geographical, unit. There was no clear thought of setting up two separate States, and what gave consistency to this idea—in fact, necessitated it—was Sir Harry Smith's proclamation of the southern section, from the Orange to the Vaal, giving it the name of the "Orange River Sovereignty." The land was thus divided for a time between British terri-

tory and territory to which the British authorities made no claim. This became *ipso facto* independent Boer territory; and although its independence was afterwards challenged, it was secured by the Sand River Convention of 1852—the *Magna Charta* of the Transvaalers, as the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 was the *Magna Charta* of the Free Staters.

But for the vacillating action of England,—at one time interfering aggressively, at another following a policy of “dismemberment,” as it was called by Sir George Grey,—there would probably never have been developed two Boer States. After settling their own domestic wranglings, of which there was no lack, the whole region must have almost inevitably been consolidated under a single Boer Government from the Orange to the Limpopo.

The events that brought about the Sand River Convention may be briefly stated.

For a long time after crossing the Vaal the Voortrekkers had, so to say, a free hand in the settlement of the country, and in their dealings with the native populations. “Remoteness from the centres of refining influences, exclusive contact with the aborigines, their purely

pastoral life, and the vast extent of the allotments assigned to the early squatters, averaging about six thousand acres, tended to keep them in a state of savage isolation, described by English visitors from the Cape as absolutely barbarous. These Dutch patriarchs, often clothed, like their Kafir neighbours, in the skins of animals, thus led a solitary existence with their families and "apprentices" (another name for slaves), on extensive domains stretching beyond the horizon, their rudely furnished habitations little better than hovels, the daily routine of their pastoral pursuits scarcely less monotonous than that of their flocks and herds themselves."¹

But beneath a shaggy exterior there were long heads and strong wills. From the Colony the Voortrekkers had brought with them, with the full sanction of the British authorities, not only their personal effects, but also arms and ammunition, including even guns,—everything, in fact, except the "apprentices," who were detained because in a year or so they would become freedmen in terms of the Act of Abolition. The emigrants had also implicitly, if by

¹ A. H. Keane, *Africa*, 1895, vol. ii. p. 319.

no formal act, renounced their allegiance to the British Crown, and considered themselves justified in doing so, because before setting out they had been assured by the best legal opinion that there was no law to prevent a British subject from emigrating to other lands, and if any such law did exist, it should be regarded as iniquitous and oppressive.

Soon after crossing the Vaal, the emigrant farmers had established strong and permanent laagers at Lydenburg and Potchefstroom, and here they received a considerable accession to their numbers when the Boers of Natalia recrossed the Drakenberg after the British proclamation of that region (1842-43). This was a most valuable contingent, as these Natalians were not only fully equipped, like all the others, but had actually come out victorious in their very first conflicts with the English under Captain Smith at Congella and Durban in 1842.

On this occasion both sides had distinguished themselves by their characteristic tactics,—wariness, foresight, ambuscades, and surprises on the one hand; rashness, ignorance of the ground, contempt of the foe, on the other,

—with the result that Durban had to be retaken, and Natalia reduced, fortunately at a slight expenditure of blood and treasure. It should also be mentioned to their credit, that the farmers displayed their wonted humanity towards prisoners and wounded, without adopting any of those treacherous devices to which they resorted in later times (1881; 1899). Pretorius, who was in command, withdrew next year to Potchefstroom with a strong commando which had seen service, and with all the farmers who were resolved not to remain under British jurisdiction. The others settled permanently in the new British Colony, and from them are descended most of the Boers now in Natal.

At Potchefstroom Pretorius was able to report the welcome tidings that, when the Boer flag was lowered at Pietermaritzburg, the British Commissioner appointed to take over the territory gave him a promise, which was afterwards carried out, that the Drakenberg should be regarded as the boundary of Natal. For the Transvaalers and Free Staters this was a vital point, since it left them free from aggression along most of their eastern fron-

tiers, while the land remained open for their own expansion in most other directions.

But meantime the more urgent question was, how best to strengthen the position of the Emigrant Farmers' Association, as they then called themselves, and to organise an efficient administration for the territory already occupied. This work was undertaken by the leaders of the Voortrekkers, Maritz, Potgieter, and Pretorius. But they wrangled over details, and frittered away so much time over personal matters, that very little progress was made till after the return of Pretorius from Bloemfontein in 1848 (see above). Then it was that the superiority of Andries Pretorius over all his compeers was made manifest, above whom he stood head and shoulders both as a commander and far-seeing statesman.

Although a reward of £2000 had been put upon his head, he was received with open arms by the farmers, to whom he again brought a considerable reinforcement, consisting largely of those who had been dispersed at the battle of Bloomplaats, and were unwilling to settle in the "Sovereignty" under British rule.

Pretorius was now practically made a sort of dictator, invested with the military command of most of the Transvaal settlers, and entrusted with the framing of a preliminary Constitution. This took somewhat the form of the government which he had established in Natalia, and found to work fairly well, regard being had to the exceptional difficulties of the situation beyond the Drakenberg. In that region the position had no doubt proved untenable. But that was because the Trekkers there found themselves hemmed in between the Zulu chief and his impis on the one hand, and on the other the English with their ships and the command of the sea, with the port of Durban, not very far distant from the Natalia capital, Pietermaritzburg.

But beyond the Vaal the settlers were left by Sir Harry Smith's proclamation a free hand to do as they pleased, provided at least that they took care to keep north of 25° N. lat. It had been arranged by an Act of Parliament passed in 1836, that British subjects committing offences in native territories south of that conventional line should be made amenable to British law. But as nobody seemed to know

where that parallel lay, the Voortrekkers had thought it wise to get as far north as possible, so as to be on the safe side; and that very circumstance had led to their wide dispersion over the whole land at an early date. Hence, in drawing up the Constitution, Pretorius had to take these conditions into account, and it was accordingly so framed as to develop to the very utmost a spirit of personal independence and self-reliance amongst the small groups, in many districts almost lost amid the surrounding native populations. So much was this the case, that, as afterwards appeared, the central authority was actually weakened, and had later to be strengthened by further modifications of a system which had created what was at the time called "the purest democracy on the face of the earth." By these modifications, combined with other circumstances to be presently related, that democracy was transformed to the now ruling oligarchy, which no one has yet ventured to call "the purest on the face of the earth."

It may be asked how, in these enlightened days, and in the face of public opinion, such a retrograde movement could be brought about.

But at that time, and for long after, there was no outlet for the expression of public opinion, if it existed, in Transvaal. Moreover, the change was the more easily made, because it did not affect the position of the Voortrekkers and their descendants, who retained all their political rights, with added privileges. It was the later immigrants, from whatever quarter, who were really dealt with, the essential feature of the process being the creation of two classes of Burghers, and of a third class (non-Burghers), who were practically naught before the law.

To understand this essential point, which lies at the root of all subsequent imbroglios, the Grundwet of February 1858, which was based on the "Thirty-three Articles" of May 1849, and was in operation with no material change down to 1890, must be compared with later modifications,—those especially of August 1891, September 1894, and January 1897.

In the Grundwet, provision was made for a single legislative body—a Volksraad of one Chamber, in which all the farmers, that is, all the then population, were represented on a

footing of absolute equality. At that time the farms, averaging from six thousand to eight thousand acres, numbered about twenty thousand, which corresponds with an estimate of twenty-five thousand settlers in the seventies, or an electorate of six thousand or seven thousand male adults from the age of eighteen years upwards. Amongst these were included a not inconsiderable number of later arrivals, who were admitted to the franchise on the easy terms of residence for five years in the Republic, the oath of allegiance, and payment of £25. At the same time all were eligible to the Volksraad who were thirty years of age, Protestants, and native-born, or Burghers of fifteen years' standing and resident in the State. The President, with executive functions, was at that time also elected for five years by all enfranchised Burghers without distinction.

The distinctions came with the first serious modification of 1891, when the great cleavage was effected in the body of electors, and in the Volksraad itself. The former were divided into first-class and second-class Burghers, while the latter was similarly split into two Chambers,

provision being at the same time made for reserving all the effective electoral and legislative functions to the first-class Burghers and the first Chamber respectively. But late arrivals—aliens, foreigners, or Uitlanders ("Outlanders"), as they were now generally called—were still treated with an apparent measure of liberality, the qualifications of enfranchisement being four years' residence, naturalisation on payment of £5, oath of allegiance, profession of some form of the Protestant religion, and possession of landed property in the State. But they could practically return members only to the second Chamber, those of the first being elected exclusively by Burghers entitled to vote, who had obtained their Burgher-right *by birth before or after the promulgation of the law*.

In the final modifications of the Grundwet made in 1894 and 1897, further changes were made in the same direction, with the result that the great body of Outlanders, now outnumbering all the others put together, were in effect deprived of all political rights, and subjected to other grievances against which they had no remedy before the law. Being

of permanent historic interest, ~~the~~ Constitution as it stood after the last touches of 1897 may here be described somewhat more fully, so far as current issues are concerned. At that date there were two Chambers of twenty-seven members each—two being returned by each of the five larger districts, and one by the smaller, the large mining centres of the Rand and Barberton (with Komati Poort) being comprised in the latter category by a legal fiction overriding statistics.

All measures passed by the second Chamber required the sanction of the first before becoming law, but Bills carried in the first did not need the sanction of the second; so that the position is not analogous to that of the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, as has been wrongly stated by persons less careful of accuracy than of party interests. It can serve no good purpose to disguise the plain truth, that since the last changes all the legislative and, as will be seen, even the judicial functions have to all intents and purposes been vested in the Upper House at Pretoria. Its members are elected from and by the first-class Burghers, those of the second Chamber

from and by the first- and second-class Burghers conjointly. But first-class Burghers are legally defined as all male adult whites resident in the State before 29th May 1876, or who served in the war of independence in 1881, in the Malabocho war of 1894, in the Jameson Raid of 1895-96, in the Swaziland expedition of 1894, and in all the other tribal wars of the Republic, and all their children from the age of sixteen. Second-class Burghers similarly comprise the naturalised male alien population and their children from the same age, naturalisation being obtainable after two years' residence, registration on the books of the field-cornets, oath of allegiance, and payment of £2. By special resolution of the first Chamber, such naturalised Burghers might become first-class Burghers, but only twelve years after naturalisation; and as they had to "serve" two years for this honour, it follows that the price of full Burghership is fourteen years of absolute denaturalisation. But, even after paying this price, they are not sure of the boon, because there is no law to compel the first Chamber to pass the special resolution, the *conditio sine quâ non*! Even their children, though born

in the State, have no political rights, though by registration at the age of sixteen they may become naturalised Burghers at eighteen, and again by "special resolution" be made full citizens, after they are eligible for the second Chamber, or at the age of forty! Forty years from birth in the country, before the son of an Outlander can claim the full franchise after compliance with all the formalities. Is it surprising that the Outlanders have not been eager to apply for full or partial Burghership, and that in 1896 the political status of the 25,058 European males over sixteen years of age in Johannesburg stood thus?—

First-class Burghers	1,039
Second-class Burghers (naturalised)	516
Outlanders with no vote	23,503
	25,058

It appears, therefore, that the universal democracy of 1858 had become in 1897 a narrow oligarchy, consisting partly of stable and partly of vanishing quantities represented by a small body of twenty-seven "incorruptibles," as the French say. Why vanishing? Clearly because many of those who obtained full Burghership

as a reward for their military services were adventurers who were bred up in the wars, or else founded no households, and disappeared without leaving any issue to inherit their oligarchical privileges. Thus, while the first-class Burghers tend to diminish, that is, to become more oligarchical (the reader will here remember that *oligarchy* is "the rule of the few"), the great and ever-increasing body of Outlanders had remained Outlanders indeed—political pariahs; children, too, for the most part of that Imperial race which has hoisted the flag of freedom and equality higher than any other people in ancient or modern times. Surely an intolerable situation, rendered more so by the not yet fully revealed darkness in the background!

When the Thirty-three Articles of the Potchefstroom democratic Constitution were drafted (1849), the inherent weakness of the situation was not felt, because everything was left practically in the hands of Pretorius, who was universally honoured, implicitly obeyed, and consulted on all thorny questions as they arose. By this time the award for his capture had probably been forgotten by most people.

But he remembered, and he also remembered that the political status of the Emigrant Association was not yet secured. During the years 1849-51 large numbers of farmers continued to arrive, many being attracted by the carefully disseminated idea that here was, if not the Promised Land, at least the highway to it. In England, also, the Imperial sentiment was at a low ebb, and, but for the energetic protests of the missionaries (see above), the wilderness beyond the proclaimed frontiers would have been abandoned for ever to solitary adventurers, itinerant traders, fearless travellers, and the Boers.

Pretorius now saw his chance, and proceeded forthwith to wrest the Sand River Convention from the helplessness of the local authorities. So strong did he feel, that he thought himself justified in resorting even to veiled threats. If defeated in the field, he had still vast spaces to fall back upon; and if the Imperial frontiers were extended from the Vaal to the Limpopo, the Trekkers could withdraw still northwards, and establish themselves on the breezy Matoppo heights between the Limpopo and the Zambesi. To be sure, these heights

were then held by Mosilikatsi or his successor, Lobengula. But their savage hordes also remembered the Marico battlefield, and would scarcely venture again to face the Boer laagers.

Just then another of those everlasting Kafir wars manufactured by philanthropy had broken out (1851-53), and Sir Harry Smith, with this and other weighty matters on his hands, received a message from the Resident at Bloemfontein that Pretorius was moving. He had in fact intimated his intention of commandeering all the farmers of the Orange "Sovereignty" (which would have been an act of open rebellion and war combined), unless the Imperial Government recognised the absolute independence of the Emigrant Farmers' Association beyond the Vaal. Sir Harry was helpless, the Home authorities did not seem to care, and the *Magna Charta* of the Transvaal Boers was signed on the banks of the Sand River on 17th January 1852.

In the very first clause of the treaty, the Assistant Commissioners, W. S. Hogge and C. M. Owen, "guaranteed in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Govern-

ment, to the Emigrant Farmers beyond the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves, without any interference on the part of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen, and engaged that no encroachment should be made by the said Government on the territory north of the Vaal River."

The Commissioners further disclaimed all alliances with native tribes north of the Vaal River, and thereby handed them over to the commandos, who were at that very time storming Secheli's kraal, and, as related, strewing the veld with Livingstone's effects and papers. It was even "whispered that the word had gone forth that these people were to be abandoned, and the Boers seem to have been told by some local underling that they might do what they liked with the missionaries. Livingstone was, at any rate, treated with scant courtesy at Cape Town, where he was looked upon rather as a nuisance, a "troublesome intermeddler," as somebody put it.

The commandos were also abroad, slave-hunting in all directions, while it was being stipulated in another clause of the Convention

that no slavery should be tolerated within the limits of the Republic. This stipulation was even embodied in the Grundwet (organic laws) of the Constitution, and when the emigrants were afterwards reproached by passing travellers, and reported for flagrantly violating its conditions, they denied the impeachment. A system was in operation, in virtue of which natives could be and were held in involuntary bondage; their status was even worse than that of mediæval serfs, *adscripti glebæ*, because they could even be bandied about from one owner to another, their families broken up, husbands torn from their wives, children from their parents. But it was denied that this was slavery, and in any case it was declared to be the inherent right of the "Chosen People," appeal being made to Exodus xxi. 2, 20 *seq.* And while this war of words was going on, the authorities held aloof, and the Boers developed the system. "After a battle, or the punishment of a clan for robbery or murder by shooting down the offenders, the children were seized and allotted to Burghers until they were of full age. These wretched orphans were

registered to their masters, and could not be transferred without the approval of a land-rost; they were legally free after serving a certain number of years, and were therefore more properly called "apprentices" than slaves. But hardly any condition could be more pitiable than that of these unfortunates. In spite of the law, they were sometimes openly sold or bartered away, and they could easily be detained beyond the allotted period of their servitude."¹

By the Sand River Convention the frontiers of the British possessions were in effect limited northwards by the Vaal, and by the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 (see p. 122) they were withdrawn to the Orange, which is still (1900) the boundary towards the Free State. Hence beyond this line the Boers claimed everything, and considered that they were legally entitled to form settlements, wherever they were strong enough to do so, in the direction of the north. But even in Transvaal political unity had not yet been established. The dissensions already referred to had developed into three rival parties, and

¹ Theal, ii. p. 162.

perhaps even one or two minor factions. But those who had recognised Pretorius as their chief, and nominated him as virtually a dictator under the title of Commandant-General, were immensely more powerful than all the rest together. Pretorius also enjoyed great personal influence, which was felt everywhere. Hence he had little difficulty in controlling the course of events and preventing the outbreak of civil strife, till his death, on 23rd July 1853.

When the capital was transferred in 1855 from Potchefstroom to a more convenient site a little farther to the north-east, it took the name of Pretoria, as the capital of the North American Union had taken that of Washington, with whom many have compared the founder of the South African Republic, as it was later to be called. Here, no doubt, a certain parallelism can be discovered, if great contrasts be overlooked. The citizens of the Union call themselves "Americans" in a pre-eminent sense, and with a view to the future hegemony of the New World; and it will be allowed that their immense present predominance, both

materially and as the upholders of freedom and democratic institutions, lends ample justification to such aspirations.

But it will be seen that the pretensions of the Transvaal Boers, or of all the Boers, to the hegemony in Africa south of the Zambesi rest on no such substantial foundations. Amongst the cultured peoples of the world as now constituted, the moral greatly outweigh the physical forces, and although recent events have shown that they possess the latter to a much greater extent than had been suspected, their claims to the former are baseless. We have seen that their own champions rest their cause, not on justice but on kinship, the ties of brotherhood; and it will be further seen that in all questions affecting inalienable human rights—equality, justice, freedom—they have put themselves out of court.

On the death of Pretorius (1853), his son Marthinus Wessels Pretorius was elected to the presidency of the "Dutch African Republic," as the State was now named. With the growing aspirations of the nation this title was enlarged in 1858 to that of the

“South African Republic,” which was recognised as its official designation by the London Convention of 1884.

After the accession of the second Pretorius there was a lull of nearly two decades, disturbed by little except the negotiations connected with the extension of the British sovereignty over Griqualand West. Before the discovery of the Kimberley diamond-fields, that region was little more than a barren waste given over to Waterboer and his Griqua half-breeds, who had taken possession of the district on both sides of the Lower Vaal between the Hart confluence and its junction with the Orange. Here converged both Boer States and Cape territory, and as their respective boundaries had never been strictly delimited, here was ample room for rival claims when the land, from being worth about a shilling an acre, began in some parts to change hands at higher prices than freehold property in the city of London.

With the rapid development of the diamond industry, the urgency of establishing orderly administration in the district was strongly felt.

But when Waterboer was induced to cede all his shadowy territorial rights to the Cape Government, both of the Boer States naturally protested, partly on the ground that the land was theirs, and partly because in any case the Imperial Government had surrendered all its claims to territory beyond the Orange, which was made the northern frontier of Cape Colony by the Conventions of 1852 and 1854. Certainly a vicarious interest in the welfare of the natives had been reserved by clauses connected with questions of slavery and "apprentices," and the importance of such reservations lay in the fact that thereby a paramountcy over the regions beyond the Orange was still upheld or indirectly implied. In virtue of that paramountcy, which involved the responsibility of maintaining orderly rule throughout South Africa, England was perhaps justified, after arranging with Waterboer, in proclaiming the disputed territory; only, the reversion, at this particular juncture, of the policy of "non-interference" or "dismemberment," dominant in the fifties, was open to the suspicion that diamonds rather than native interests were the main attraction. In

any case, the authorities had now to meet the objections raised by the Transvaalers, who pointed out that the extension of British rule over that section of Griqualand West which lay north of the Vaal was a contravention of the third article of the Sand River Convention, in which the Assistant Commissioners expressly disclaimed "all alliances whatever, and with whomsoever, of the coloured tribes to the north of the Vaal River."

The Free Staters, on their part, similarly declared that the very diamond-fields themselves—that is, the district enclosed between the fork of the Vaal and Orange Rivers—belonged to them, inasmuch as it unquestionably formed part of the original Orange "Sovereignty," as proclaimed by Sir Harry Smith in 1848.

Thus arose questions both of territorial rights and of boundaries, to settle which a Commission under Mr. Keate, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, was appointed to inquire into and adjudicate on the matters in dispute. It was in fact a court of arbitration, and the award was in favour of the Imperial Government. Thereupon the Transvaal Volksraad

refused to abide by the decision, and President Pretorius, son of Andries, who had pledged himself to abide by the result of the award, resigned office. The frontier question with Transvaal consequently lay in abeyance, and was not finally settled till after the Warren expedition to Bechuanaland in 1885 (see above).

With the Free Staters, who had also demurred, it was argued that Griqualand West had been acquired by purchase from Waterboer. But when a land court was soon after appointed to settle the claims of individual owners, it was discovered that the Griqua chief's title itself was bad. It was then that the Colonial Office fell back on the principle of overlordship, requiring the interference of the Imperial Government in the interests of the whole community. But when President Brand went to London to plead his case on the spot, Lord Carnarvon, then Colonial Secretary, allowed that he had a *bonâ fide* grievance, and the matter was ultimately arranged by the Bloemfontein Government accepting a sum of £90,000 (or £100,000?) as compensation.

Here it will be instructive to read the remarks made on the whole case by Mr. Worsock, a judicial and impartial observer: "Although this principle, that the responsibility of England as paramount Power must be accompanied by corresponding rights over the whole of South Africa, is both sound and necessary, and although the special contention of the Colonial Office, that these paramount rights and powers were not waived by the two Conventions, can be shown to be just, since both these documents contain requirements and stipulations which could only be rendered effectual by the maintenance of England's relationship of paramount Power towards the States in question,—at the same time it was unfortunate, to say the least, that this principle should only have been brought forward by the Colonial Office after the title of purchase [from Waterboer] had fallen through. We are reminded in a very awkward manner, by this action of the Colonial Office, of that much quoted line in Horace, in which the man of the world is satirically represented as advising his pupil: 'Si possis, recte, si non quocunque modo rem'

(‘Make money, honestly if you can; if not, somehow or other’). And we who believe, to use Lord Rosebery’s phrase, that the British Empire is ‘the greatest secular agency for good known to the world,’ have a right to expect and to require that England shall not be placed in so equivocal a position, either by the want of foresight or by the mere carelessness of her officials.”¹

On his abdication, in consequence of the action of the Volksraad on the Keate Award, Pretorius had the satisfaction of seeing his place filled in 1872 by a worthy successor, in the person of President T. F. Burgess, a man of progress and enlightenment, fully abreast of the times. Peace had hitherto been outwardly maintained, and the Pretoria Government even strengthened by the union of the Lydenburg Republic, which had been set up⁴ in the Olifant’s River district after the occupation of that rugged tract by Commandant Hendrik Potgieter in 1846. But here gold had now been discovered, with the usual result that the territorial rights of the natives were rudely brushed aside. Out of these

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

small beginnings arose a great trouble, which brought the Republic to the very verge of ruin, or rather caused a complete eclipse during the years 1877-80.

The Lydenburg district belonged originally to the Bapedi, a people of mixed Zulu stock, from whose chief Sekwati, or else from the Swazi nation (by whom he had been temporarily conquered), Potgieter's Boers claimed to have purchased the land needed for their settlement for a hundred head of cattle. Later, most of the emigrants and all the Swazi moved away, whereupon the Bapedi returned and reoccupied the vacated territory. They always denied that they had parted with any of their ancestral possessions to Potgieter's following, so that, when the Boers also returned, and, soon after the death of Pretorius, founded the Lydenburg Republic, they had to make a fresh treaty (1857) with Sekwati, and in this treaty the independence of the Bapedi nation is certainly admitted. On the union of Lydenburg with the central Government, these relations should have remained undisturbed, but were practically ignored by the treaty of 1869, in which

Portugal ceded to Transvaal a strip of territory far to the east of Bapediland.

Meanwhile Sekwati had been succeeded by his son, the redoubtable chief Sekukuni. The Kimberley diamond-fields had also been discovered (1869), and soon began to attract large numbers of the Bapedi, all of whom invested some of their earnings in rifles and ammunition, returning well equipped for war to their rugged upland homes. President Burgess had protested against the indiscriminate sale of firearms to the natives employed on the Kimberley diamond workings, and he certainly had a legitimate ground of complaint, because such sales were in contravention of the treaties of 1852 and 1854, to which the two Boer States owed their existence. But it was difficult to fix the responsibility until the numerous owners of small and unprofitable allotments were bought out by the big capitalists, when a more orderly administration was introduced, and the sale of arms suppressed.

Unfortunately, Sekukuni could not be so easily suppressed. On the contrary, he found himself strong enough to take the field and

commit various aggressive acts, for the express purpose of challenging the Transvaal authorities, and thus putting the question of his independence to the arbitrament of the sword. The challenge was accepted, and a strong commando sent against the "rebels," as they were called, in the winter (June-July) of the year 1876. The Boërs, never formidable in attack, were utterly routed in the attempt to storm a mountain stronghold in the heart of the Bapedi country.

They returned to Pretoria hopelessly crestfallen, so much so that it was determined to prosecute the war, not by the commando system, which had for once broken down, but, so to say, on the "contract" principle. Captain Von Schlickmann, a German officer who had served in the Franco-Prussian war, undertook to levy a corps of free-lances wherever he could find them, at so much a head. The terms were tempting—£5 a man per month as regular pay, with everything found, to begin with, and then a farm of 4000 acres on the conclusion of hostilities. A motley gathering of desperadoes and others of all nationalities flocked to Von Schlickmann's standard, and,

although they might be called an undisciplined rabble, they were ready, like the free companies of mediæval warfare, to follow a trusted condottière in any desperate enterprise. Instead of fighting, the Burghers had now therefore nothing to do but tax themselves and await results,—in this also imitating the little Italian republics of the fourteenth century.

Here it will be instructive to quote the remarks made by a writer of the highest authority, in October 1876, while the war was still raging, and consequently before the collapse, by which opinions might be unduly biassed :—

“The dispersion of the commando was followed, as a matter of course, by the devastation of the districts bordering upon Sekukuni's country. For a time a large portion of the Republic appeared to be at the mercy of the Bapedi; but they were afraid of advancing far from their strongholds. The condition of affairs in October is almost as bad as can be imagined. The free-lances have as yet done nothing to weaken the power of the enemy, while the

employment of such a force is regarded with disfavour by the other South African countries. The horrible barbarities committed by the native contingents, such as butchering women and children in cold blood, have prevented much sympathy being felt for the Republic by outsiders, though the Government cannot fairly be charged with authorising any such acts of cruelty. President Burgess claims the Bapedi as subjects. Sekukuni not only asserts his independence, but lays claim to a great tract of country that has been occupied by the Boers for the last thirty years. The Republican Treasury is empty, and the Burghers assert their inability to pay the war tax. The burden of the public debt, for which nothing can be shown, presses heavily upon the people. The diggers at the gold-fields are clamouring for British protection.

“It is evident that the paramount South African Power cannot permit affairs to remain in this state much longer. The peace of all the Colonies is imperilled, and unless a change takes place within a few months, interference will be a necessity. Meantime the opinion

is gaining ground in the Transvaal,* that the easiest way out of these difficulties is by a return to allegiance to Great Britain. The party holding this view is yet in a minority, but any further disasters would have the effect of converting it at once into a majority. Under any circumstances it must become a majority in course of time. For there is a yearning after union with the other countries of South Africa, and it is beginning to be recognised by even the most conservative of the Boers that such a union can only take place under the flag of England.”¹

To add to their troubles, the Transvaalers now also found themselves involved in difficulties about frontier questions with Kechwayo, who, as a lineal descendant of Chaca and Dingaan, still ruled over a united Zululand, and was thirsting for vengeance on the Boers for a long series of real or fancied wrongs. This was the last straw, and, when no more money could be extorted from the farmers to meet the demands of the free-lances clamouring for their monthly allowance, the anticipated collapse ensued early in the

¹ Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

year 1877. The Republic was absolutely bankrupt in the strict sense of the term, and it was stated at the time that, with only a few shillings in the public coffers, there were no assets, and—the gold industry not being yet developed—no securities to raise funds for ordinary administrative purposes, much less for the prosecution of costly wars with two powerful Zulu nations on the exposed eastern frontiers. All eyes were now turned to England; and, as she no longer challenged suzerain power, she was called upon by the voice of public opinion to accept her responsibilities, and save not merely the Transvaal farmers, but South Africa itself, from another flood of savagery such as that which followed in the wake of Dingaan's impi, and lingered in the memories of many still living. It must be remembered that, while Sekukuni was scouring the eastern plains and threatening Pretoria, Kechwayo's power was unbroken, and his indunas, if not the king himself, were washing their spears in blood, and preparing to overrun both Natal and Transvaal. Intervention thus became inevitable, and, when Sir Theophilus Shepstone hoisted the British

flag in Pretoria on 12th April 1877, he met with no open opposition from any quarter. That was the time to protest, but no protest was made, and everybody had the right to believe that the appointment of Sir W. Owen Lanyon as British administrator was unreservedly accepted by President Burgess and the whole nation. Such, indeed, may have been the general feeling at the time; but if so, it did not last long.

It has often been assumed that the acquiescence of the farmers was mainly or solely due to the black clouds banking up in the east, and would have continued had not those clouds been dispersed by the English themselves, who, by pacifying the Bapedi and crushing Kechwayo (1877-79), relieved the South African Republic from all fear of any further trouble with the Zulu peoples on their eastern frontier.

But such was not their attitude; and it is due to them to say that, if they did not protest at once, it was owing to sheer prostration after Sekukuni's victories, and further, that they did protest and agitate for a restoration of their independence before the British conquest

of Zululand. The battle of Ulundi, fought on 4th July 1879, was followed by the capture of Kechwayo on 1st September of the same year. But the Volksraad, which seems to have been permanently in session, had sent two delegations to England before that time (1877 and 1878), protesting against Shepstone's action, and asking for the removal of the British flag from Pretoria. To both, the Colonial Office had turned a deaf ear. But hopes were revived when Mr. Gladstone, during the Midlothian campaign in the autumn of 1879, denounced Lord Beaconsfield's annexation of Transvaal, and the Boers naturally expected that, in the triumphant return of the Liberal Party to power in April 1880, that action would be revoked. Now a strange thing happened. Mr. Gladstone in opposition had been the fiery champion of the Boers' rights, but Mr. Gladstone in office continued Lord Beaconsfield's policy, and dismissed a third delegation as the other two had been dismissed. But they withdrew comforted at least by assurances of sympathy from individual members of the Liberal Party, and on reaching the Cape forthwith began to

agitate jointly with their Afrikander friends for a separation.

But at that very moment Sir Bartle Frere was moving for a closer union than ever. This far-seeing and much maligned statesman had been sent out in March 1877 by Beaconsfield's Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, for the avowed purpose of forwarding the cause of South African federation, which that no less far-seeing statesman had so much at heart.

Thus it was that on their return from England the Transvaal delegates found the Colony in a blaze over this question of Colonial, which in their eyes meant Imperial, federation. Acting on Sir Bartle's suggestion, Sir Gordon Sprigg, then Cape Premier, had brought before Parliament a proposal for a Federation Conference. This proposal, which could have led to nothing more than a preliminary discussion on the subject, was nevertheless strenuously opposed by the Afrikander Party, on the ground that it was premature; and should not be entertained until the question of Transvaal independence was first settled. This was a master-stroke, which was calculated and intended to appeal directly to the imagination

of all high-minded persons ; it meant that, in the event of federation being adopted, as it had been adopted a short time before by British North America, Transvaal should enter the "Bond" not as an outlying British province, but as the South African Republic, on a footing of equality with all the other members of the union. Such an amendment could not fail to be carried, and defeat was avoided by the withdrawal of the proposal (June 1880).

Then also Sir Bartle was withdrawn (August 1880), and treated with cold neglect by the Gladstonian Ministry—men, with one or two exceptions, incapable of understanding his far-reaching aims, or of sounding the depths of his true humanitarian statesmanship. The times were out of joint, and the Frere interlude seems to cross the firmament like a bright streak, to presently disappear in the darkness.

Dark, indeed, were those days when three remarkable men — the triumvirs Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius—sat in close conclave within the Pretoria council chambers. They had already scored heavily by the triumph of the Anti-Federalists at the Cape, if not by

the appointment of Sir Bartle's succéssor, Sir Hercules Robinson. In any case, their plans were matured, and the country was in open revolt before the close of the year (16th December 1880). Almost, before the weather-wise could read the forecasts, the storm had burst, and the South African Republic had been proclaimed under the triumvirs (30th December 1880). Then came flashes in quick succession, that the commandos were gathering, that encounters had taken place,—one at least marked by distinct treachery,—but in all of which the scattered British bands had been worsted; lastly, that the series of petty reverses had culminated with the crowning disaster on the Majuba heights overlooking Laing's Nek, on the Natal frontier (27th February 1881).

Even this, though magnified into a great defeat, was but a petty reverse, and the real disaster did not come till the surrender of March 1881, when the British forces, now ready to take the field in formidable numbers, were withdrawn in the face of the enemy in arms, and an ignominious peace made with the reconstituted Pretoria Government. The

peace was ratified by the Pretoria Convention of 8th August 1881, which was signed by the Royal Commissioners, and by Marthinus W. Pretorius, Peter J. Joubert, and Stephen J. P. Kruger, and in which the whole territory without the much-needed rectification of frontiers in North Natal was ceded to "The Transvaal State," as it was still called by the suzerain Power. In the Convention the "Suzerainty"—this term being now first introduced—was expressly recognised, and was to be represented by a British Resident at Pretoria, the first appointed being Mr. G. Hudson.

It was further stipulated that, under the suzerainty, the Transvaalers should enjoy complete self-government in all matters not affecting paramount Imperial interests, the control and management of all external affairs being reserved to Her Majesty as suzerain. The reflections that suggest themselves on this great humiliation—and that such it was is now almost universally admitted—may best be reserved till the terms are given of the London Convention of 27th February 1884, by which those of 1881 were further modified in the direction of a larger measure of autonomy.

In this treaty the terms "Suzerain" and "Suzerainty," without being withdrawn, do not recur. They lie, so to say, in abeyance, to be revived whenever their import is challenged. The "Transvaal State" now also becomes the "South African Republic," this being now at last recognised as its official title. Moreover, while the control of foreign relations is again reserved, the British Government is no longer represented by a Resident, but by a "Diplomatic Agent," at the capital. The expression seems to come perilously near a surrender of everything, and might be so interpreted but for the above-mentioned reservation, and for other stipulations, on which controversy still rages, and which may consequently here be given *ipsissimis verbis*.

ARTICLE IV. The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen.

Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if Her Majesty's Government

shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately on its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa.

ARTICLE VII. All persons who held property in the Transvaal on the 8th day of August 1881, and still hold the same, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the 12th April 1877. No person who has remained loyal to Her Majesty during the late hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty, or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connection with such hostilities ; and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

ARTICLE VIII. The South African Republic renews the declaration made in the Sand River Convention and in the Convention of Pretoria, that no slavery, or apprenticeship partaking of slavery, will be tolerated by the Government of the said Republic.

ARTICLE IX. There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order; and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property, by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

ARTICLE XIII. Except in pursuance of any treaty or engagement made as provided in Article IV. of this Convention, no other or higher duties shall be imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions than are or may be imposed on the like article coming from any other place or country; nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions which shall not equally extend to the like article coming from any other place or country. And in like manner, the same treatment shall be given to any article coming to Great Britain from the South African Republic as to the like article coming from any other place or country.

These provisions do not preclude the consideration of special arrangements as to important duties and commercial relations between the South African Republic or any of Her Majesty's colonies or possessions.

ARTICLE XIV. All persons other than natives conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce, either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (*d*) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic.

ARTICLE XV. All persons other than natives who established their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April 1877 and the 8th day of August 1884, and who within twelve months after such last-mentioned date have had their names registered by the British

Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever.

Of the more prominent Cabinet Ministers who were parties to these Conventions, which may now be taken as a whole, one (Mr. Gladstone) is dead, and a few others (such as Lord Kimberley and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) are still amongst us. From these we have official and even personal views on the subject, either in vindication or excuse of their co-operation in the policy pursued after the Majuba reverse. In the debates in the House of Commons dealing with the general situation, the word most prominent on Mr. Gladstone's lips was "bloodguiltiness." The idea conveyed, and intended to be conveyed, was that enough blood had already been shed over the wretched business, that he would not be responsible for any more, that no doubt we could easily crush these Boers in arms,—there was Sir Evelyn Wood at the head of a well-equipped force of ten thousand men on the spot, and there were ten thousand more on the high seas, with General Roberts on his way to the front. We could therefore afford

to be magnanimous, and, by restoring to the Boers their independence, of which they had been unjustly deprived, they would be for ever grateful, and there would be such a union of hearts as would guarantee the future peace of Africa better than rifles and bayonets. That such was the impression, is clear from the sarcastic remark of the Natal colonists, who, while greatly admiring such magnanimous sentiments, hoped they would next time be indulged in at England's, not their expense.

There was certainly no hint in the Premier's language that there was anything to be afraid of, that dangers lurked behind which he dreaded to face, or that any other but a lofty moral ideal—Quixotism somebody called it—worked in his mind to stop the war and patch up a hasty peace with the armed Burghers.

But this other motive has now been revealed by the frankness of Mr. Gladstone's colleague, Lord Kimberley. It may be summed in the one word *expediency*, which, according to fancy, may be interpreted as statecraft or fear. Strong representations had been made by apparently well-informed officials and others, that should the war spread, not only

the Free Staters but also the Cape Boers would join their northern kinsmen, that many of the native tribes, at that time more powerful than at present, were getting restless and eager to take part in the fray, and that a continuation of the hostilities might thus involve the whole of South Africa in a general conflagration. Hence the real motive, though not avowed at the time, was to prevent greater evils than the moral surrender, and the retreat was simply covered by Mr. Gladstone's glowing appeal to the argument of bloodguiltiness. Lord Kimberley does not draw this last inference; and if he makes no allusion to Mr. Gladstone's plea, it is probably through the honourable desire to screen his chief from the charge of disingenuousness, in not frankly stating the true grounds of withdrawal.

Mr. Chamberlain has also spoken, and in his usual straightforward way admits that not only now, but at the time, he was doubtful, and hesitated, but was, like so many others, probably over-persuaded by the glamour of Mr. Gladstone's personal influence. In any case, he sees plainly, and admits without any reservation, that the policy then pursued was a

mistake, and resulted, not in a union of hearts, but in a feeling of contempt, which has not even yet perhaps been quite effaced. The Boers, in their ignorance, fancied they had overthrown the British Empire, and that they could make short work of any number of *rodineks* that might be brought against them. But Mr. Chamberlain goes further, and repudiates, both for himself and for other members of the Gladstone Cabinet, Lord Kimberley's motives of expediency. "Lord Kimberley has, at all events, mistaken the motives which led us in 1881 to consent to the Convention. He says it was fear that the Orange Free State and the Cape Boers would join in the conflict. That seems to me to be in itself improbable. We were told by our military advisers that we had the Boers in the hollow of our hands. The next battle would have been, as we believe, a complete defeat of the Boers, and, after that defeat, it is wholly improbable that either the Orange Free State or the Cape Dutch would have taken up what was already a lost cause." Then he gives the true reason, which was neither bloodguiltiness nor expediency, but a sense of justice—a feeling that the

Transvaal had been annexed under a misapprehension, on information that the majority of the Boers were themselves desirous of the annexation. But when it was afterwards proved that such was not the case, "we thought, wrongly or rightly, that the annexation should be cancelled, provided we could get conditions which would secure our rights, and secure the rights of British subjects; and accordingly, when the Boers expressed their willingness to assent to these conditions, we did not think it was the duty of a Christian country to prosecute a war for which there was no longer a policy of justification, but a policy of revenge. That, at all events, was the view that influenced me, and, as I believe, influenced the Duke of Devonshire and many other distinguished members of the administration. We thought at that time that the Boers, partly from gratitude, partly from self-interest, would observe the conditions to which they assented: we were egregiously mistaken. I admit that, if we had it to do all over again, I doubt whether any of us—whether Lord Kimberley himself—would pursue the same course. We know more now of the Boer

character, of Boer ambitions ; and undoubtedly the policy of the Boers, contrary to what we had a right to expect, was from first to last, after the Convention was signed, a policy of evading its obligations, and of endeavouring to assert a right to deal just as they pleased with the stranger within their gates. . . . As soon as one difficulty was cleared out of the way, he [President Kruger] began to set up another, and throughout it all he was piling up those tremendous armaments until he found himself in a position in which he thought he could safely defy one of the great Powers of the world. All this work of preparation began long before the Jameson Raid, and it is truer to say that the Jameson Raid was a consequence of the misgovernment of the Transvaal than to say that it was the cause of it. At Bloemfontein [the Milner-Kruger Conference of June 1899] nothing was proposed which could by any possibility threaten the independence of President Kruger's country : we only proposed some advance towards just and honest government. That was previously what he was determined not to do."¹

¹ Speech in the Floral Hall, Leicester, 29th November 1899.

The latter part of this extract covers the whole ground from the Conventions to the present war, and will serve as a text for what is now to follow. It is here introduced merely to show that, on their own admission, the Gladstonian Ministry were deceived in their hopes of good results when they were induced to treat with the armed Burghers, and later to agree to the Conventions. Taken in connection with what precedes, the whole extract, which is of great historic importance, for the first time clears up the situation when the surrender took place. It seems now plain enough, that while all were duped,¹ Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were actuated by mixed motives, as thus:—

1. Bloodguiltiness weighed, or seemed to weigh, with Mr. Gladstone, while Mr. Glad-

¹ M. Yves Guyot tells us (*Radical*, 20th Dec. 1899) that he had a letter in October 1899 from an English Liberal who had been associated with Mr. Gladstone's policy of 1881-84, and now wrote: "We believed in the honesty of the Boers. We supposed that they would carry out the Convention loyally. We were mistaken." Yes; and what was earned was simply *contempt*. As Mr. Bryce puts it: "The Boers fancied themselves entitled to add some measure of contempt to the dislike they already cherished to the English, and they have ever since shown themselves unpleasant neighbours" (*op. cit.*).

stone's personality weighed with all in varying degrees.

2. Expediency (fear or opportunism) weighed with perhaps not more than one or two weaklings.

3. A sense of right, a feeling that the annexation had been made under a misapprehension as to the wishes of the majority of the Burghers, weighed with Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Hartington (now Duke of Devonshire), and perhaps all the other members of the Cabinet.

At the same time, all alike were responsible for what now seems a deplorable oversight. In the Conventions no reference is made to the question of commandeering, although a favourable opportunity had arisen for dealing with the system. It could not, of course, have been abolished there and then, because Lobengula and his Matabili hordes were still entrenched about their Buluwayo kraal on the Matoppo heights, and constituted a danger to Transvaal along its exposed northern frontier.

There were also a few still unreduced Zulu tribes so called in the Zoutpansberg and other districts, who continued to give trouble for the next ten years. A combination against the

Boers had even been formed by a number of groups under a head-chief Mapoch, who, however, after several defeats, had submitted in July 1883. But a few years later the Zoutpansberg tribes again revolted, under the much more powerful chief Malaboch, who continued to defy the farmers even after his stronghold was stormed in June 1894. Several commandos had to be called out, and, after a protracted war of reprisals, the Zulus and all their chiefs finally surrendered in June 1895. Since then there have been no native risings, and the "Malaboch war" itself is chiefly interesting for political reasons, as all men serving in the commandos, whatever their previous status, were rewarded with full rights of citizenship, that is, became first-class Burghers (see p. 221).

But little was known of these natives at the time of the Conventions, while in every other direction the Transvaal was safe from attack, being conterminous on the south with the Free State, on the west with the Bamangwato and the other Bechuana peoples, who were peacefully inclined and powerless in offensive warfare, on the east with Portuguese and British

territory. Here the "black" danger had been completely removed by the British conquest of Zululand, and of the Bapedi, whose chief Sekukuni had surrendered after the storming of his stronghold by Colonel Baker Russell (28th Nov. 1879). Sekukuni was eventually killed in a fray with a rival chief in August 1882. Hence one might suppose that arrangements should have now been made for the gradual suppression of the commandeering system (an anachronism in these days), and the substitution of a strong police force, or some form of local militia, sufficient for the maintenance of order within the Republic, but insufficient to constitute a menace to Imperial interests and to peace and orderly government throughout South Africa. And if it be said that the Transvaalers would have refused to entertain any proposals of that sort, the obvious reply is that they should and could have been coerced in the general interest, because, in Mr. Chamberlain's language, we had the Boers at that time "in the hollow of our hands," and might have for ever eliminated that disturbing element from the South African political system.

But the British public were also dumb, and,

with that infinite capacity for being gulled which is so remarkable in a people proud of their common-sense, acquiesced in everything.

Thus stood matters when a new era was heralded by the discovery of the great gold-fields, and the rapid development of the mining and associated industries, as described in Chap. III. Then took place an almost sudden dislocation of all the political, the social, and the economic relations. The impoverished Burgher democracy became a powerful oligarchy, with almost unlimited funds at its disposal. The original farmer element, representing purely agricultural and mainly pastoral interests of relatively small value, was soon outnumbered by the alien or Outlander section, which in all the mining centres was developing a community of graded social classes, from the wealthy capitalist, through the traders, artisans, and small dealers, down even to a considerable body of proletariats, but all alike excluded from free citizenship—a violation of the spirit, and even the letter, of the Conventions (see above). On the other hand, their rulers helped themselves freely to their earnings, and utilised the wealth created by them for the purpose of

“piling up tremendous armaments.” When to this are added direct oppression, an unfair incidence of taxation, the misapplication of the moneys thus raised in educational matters, the substitution of Dutch for English (the language of the majority) even in courts of justice and all deeds and documents of a legal character, vexatious police regulations, the subordination of magistrates, judges, and the High Chief-Justice himself, to the pleasure either of the President or of the Volksraad; lastly, railway, dynamite, and other monopolies—it will be seen that there was ample room not only for friction, but for the inevitable rupture between the governing oligarchs and the bread-winning “Helots” barred from all political rights.

Symptoms of unrest had already been felt early in 1889, especially at Johannesburg, which, although dating only from 1886, had already become quite a large place, with important commercial interests connected with the development of the Rand gold-fields. The mutterings had not reached England, but they were heard in Pretoria, where the situation was now thoroughly understood, and where secret measures began to be taken against

future contingencies. The first step, unknown at the time, and even now scarcely believed, was the practical union of the two Boer States, provided for by the Defensive Treaty of 13th March 1889.

In the terms of this treaty, which was concluded between Presidents Kruger and R  tz at Potchefstroom, the South African Republic and the Orange Free State bound themselves mutually to assist each other whenever the independence of either of the two States should be threatened or assailed from without. There was no doubt a rider to the effect that the agreement should not operate in case the State called upon for aid should be able to show the injustice of the cause of the State needing aid. But it is proverbially difficult to prove a negative; and in any case this preliminary arrangement, sufficient for all practical purposes at the time, developed into the formal Offensive and Defensive Treaty of Alliance concluded at Bloemfontein between Presidents Kruger and Steyn on 9th March 1897. This agreement also passed without notice at the time, and when Mr. Steyn was questioned on the subject he equivocated, to use a mild ex-

pression. But its full significance was revealed when the Free Staters took sides with the Transvaalers in the present war.

Discontent continued to grow apace, and Mr. Kruger was badly received when he visited Johannesburg in March 1890. Here two parties were formed—the National Union and the Reform Committee; both aiming at the removal of intolerable burdens—one by constitutional means, or at most the substitution of a true republic for the Pretoria oligarchs; the other by any means, force if necessary, and a change of flag. Over this flag question they later quarrelled, tried to swap horses in mid-stream, and so perished, involving others in their ruin. But repressive legislation knew no abatement. On the contrary, it grew more intense, and, despite Mr. Kruger's promise in 1892 to have the franchise extended to "trustworthy persons," it was, by a sort of grim irony, further restricted the very next year, so that Mr. Chamberlain had to protest that the aliens "can now never hope to obtain their rights in full, and their partial enjoyment is only conceded after a term of probation so prolonged as to amount, for most men, to a practical

denial of the claim. If he omits to obtain any kind of naturalisation for himself, his children, though born on the soil, remain aliens like himself. . . . The feelings of irritation have not been lessened by the manner in which remonstrances have been met."

The last remark has reference to the reception accorded to the petitions for reforms which continued to be presented to the Volksraad by deputations from Johannesburg in 1894. One signed by thirteen thousand men was received with scorn and scoffing; and when another with thirty-eight thousand signatures was presented the next year, Mr. Otto, a member of the Volksraad, exclaimed, "Come on if you want to fight. I say, come on and have it out—the sooner the better. I am prepared to fight you, and I think every Burgher in the South African Republic is with me. I say to-day that the people who signed the memorial are rebels." One of Mr. Kruger's terse utterances about this time was, "When the floods rise we build the banks higher." He had been visited in June 1894 by the High Commissioner, Sir H. B. (now Lord) Loch, in connection with the Swazi affair, who, on being requested not to comply

with the reformers' invitation to Johannesburg, took occasion to point out that the forty thousand British residents in the State appeared to him to have "some very real and substantial grievances." He did not go to Johannesburg, but received a deputation in Pretoria from twelve representative "Randsmen," by whom he was told that an appeal to force was in contemplation. He pointed out the folly of such a step, and incidentally asked how many guns they had—a remark which has been strangely misunderstood. The question would appear to have been "meant sarcastic," as much as to say, What can your puny efforts avail against the resources of the Pretoria Government?

Nevertheless, seeing the "floods rising," he felt bound, as High Commissioner, to take precautionary steps, and amongst others concentrated the Imperial Bechuanaland Police at certain points, explaining that, in case of disturbances at Johannesburg caused by the administration extended to the Outlanders, it would be his duty to tell President Kruger "that he would be held responsible for the safety of the lives and property of British subjects," and, failing the necessary protection,

"I should have felt myself at liberty to have taken such steps as I might have felt expedient to give that protection which he would have failed to give."

Then followed the closing of the Vaal drifts (October 1895), which being a violation of the London Convention of 1884, brought an energetic protest—almost an ultimatum—from the Imperial Government, and the revocation of that high-handed measure. The object was to prevent the Outlanders from importing goods by the fords, and thus avoid the heavy dues levied by the State Railway over the Vaal. Such arbitrary proceedings were not approved by all the oligarchs, and led to the resignation of Mr. Esselen, State Attorney, Mr. Joubert, and some other officials, in December 1895.

At that moment the National Union was speaking out more boldly, and clamouring in almost peremptory language for a voice in public affairs, all the time with eyes turned towards the western horizon. After Lord Loch's threatened move of the previous year, the Imperial authorities had again lapsed into a comatose state, almost unparalleled in the

history of international relations. Although long aware that all the combustibles had been gathered for a grand conflagration, they had turned a deaf ear to all appeals for intervention, and with guilty supineness had allowed things to take their course, leaving the Outlanders to work out their own redemption or perish in the attempt.

The attempt was made, and it failed because it was premature, and because of internal dissensions and inherent weakness in the face of material forces of great magnitude, but at the time carefully masked. The Randsmen (both parties), Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Cape Premier and Chairman of the South Africa Chartered Company, and Dr. Jameson, Administrator of the Company's Bechuanaland estate, were all in the plot, and the ground was prepared for the blow by the manifesto of 16th December 1895, issued by Mr. Charles Leonard, Chairman of the National Union. This document was followed by a conditional appeal from the Randsmen to the Administrator to come to their aid whenever the necessity for such aid should arise. But their counsels were unexpectedly disconcerted by the wrangle over the flag, and perhaps by

other unrevealed causes, and the move was postponed till 6th January 1896.

Dr. Jameson was wired to that effect, and told on no account to stir till the word came. If he did he would be pursued or ordered back, and everything would be ruined. But Dr. Jameson, like Captain Nolan at Balaclava, wanted to go, and, to prevent any further countermanding, had the wires cut between Mafeking (where he had gathered his following) and Cape Town, where Mr. Rhodes, in a sense his superior officer, was then stationed. His following, which, acting on the good intentions of Lord Loch in 1894, he had brought together on the Transvaal frontier, consisted of two bodies of mounted police (about six hundred and twenty altogether), which setting out—one from Mafeking, the other from Pitsani Pitlogo—met at Malmani, within the Transvaal frontier, on Sunday 29th December. Here a fresh start was made, and the whole force, under Dr. Jameson and Major Sir John Willoughby, also in the Company's service, reached Krugersdorp, where they expected either reinforcements or definite instructions from Johannesburg, which lay some ten miles farther east.

From Johannesburg they received nothing, but from the neighbouring kopjes they received a volley of Boer bullets, which compelled them to seek cover at Vlakfontein, where, after another hopeless conflict, they surrendered conditionally to Commandant Kronje on 2nd January 1896. Telegrams then flew about in all directions, and one came the very same day from the German Emperor to President Kruger, congratulating him on the victory, and promising aid if needed.

Thus burst the bolt from the blue, and people are still asking, after all the light since thrown on the incident, why no move was made at Johannesburg, where the bolt had been forged. That this was so is evident from the compromising language of Mr. Lionel Phillips, Chairman of the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, who at a meeting on 20th November 1895 declared that nothing was further from his heart than a desire to see an upheaval, which would be disastrous from every point of view, *and which would probably end in the most terrible of all possible endings—in bloodshed.* Here a revolution is openly anticipated

as probable, and it is not denied that about that time the arrangement had been made between the reform leaders and Dr. Jameson which led up to the "Raid." Still more compromising perhaps is Mr. Leonard's manifesto, which announces that the "meeting" fixed for 27th December had been postponed till 6th January, and then summarises the aims of the National Union as under :—

"We want—

"1. The establishment of this Republic as a true Republic.

"2. A Grundwet or Constitution, which shall be framed by competent persons, selected by representatives of the whole people, and framed on lines laid down by them; a Constitution which shall be safeguarded against hasty alteration.

"3. An equitable franchise law, and fair representation.

"4. Equality of the Dutch and English languages.

"5. Responsibility to the Legislature of the heads of the great departments.

"6. Removal of religious disabilities.

"7. Independence of the Courts of Justice,

with adequate and secured remuneration of the judges.

"8. Liberal and comprehensive education.

"9. An efficient Civil Service, with adequate provision for pay and pension.

"10. Free trade in South African products.

"That is what we want.

"There now remains the question which is to be put before you at the meeting of the 6th of January, namely, How shall we get it? To this question I shall expect from you an answer—in plain terms—according to your deliberate judgment."

Assuredly, all these were most worthy objects; but it is here a question of ways and means, and as by arrangement Dr. Jameson's police force were to mount guard at the meeting, it is obvious that the attitude was now one of defiance, and that, if necessary, the "true Republic" was to be established *vi et armis*.

Moreover, the Transvaal police and officials having been withdrawn from Johannesburg on 30th December, a Provisional Government was proclaimed the next day, in anticipation of Dr. Jameson's arrival on 6th January. They did not

then know that he was already on the road, and thereby spoilt everything, or, as Mr. Rhodes put it on hearing the fatal news, "Old Jameson has upset my apple-cart. He has ridden in. I did not tell you [Mr. Schreiner, Attorney-General] yesterday, because I thought I had stopped him. [But, as seen, Dr. J. had cut the wires.] Poor old Jameson! Twenty years friends, and now he goes in and ruins me. I cannot hinder him, and I cannot destroy him."

It was a mere question of time, and a few days made all the difference. They were not only unprepared, but they did not know, and Dr. Jameson's premature action must be accepted as the immediate cause of the Randsmen's failure to co-operate. It will be noticed that Mr. Rhodes speaks of "my apple-cart," showing his complicity in the general scheme. It is a complicity which he does not, and need not, deny. Nothing is easier than to fling stones at those who fail in a good cause, when they are technically in the wrong; nothing more difficult to prove than the legal and moral right of a despotic oligarchy to keep their heels on the neck of the larger section

of the community, in violation of the stipulations of international treaties. • See, above, Articles IX. and XIV. of the London Convention, and compare them with the terms of the present Constitution (p. 218) imposing disabilities on religious grounds, and excluding all but Protestants from the franchise absolutely.

It has even been held by some distinguished jurists, that, a Provisional Government having been proclaimed at Johannesburg, Dr. Jameson and Mr. Rhodes were coming to its support, and not proceeding against a friendly State; consequently were not even technically in the wrong. But the contention is unnecessary and scarcely valid, because that Provisional Government had not yet asserted itself by any overt act, and was certainly unrecognised by any foreign Powers. It was therefore, from the international standpoint, non-existent. Not only was it not recognised, but, according to the British Resident, Sir Jacobus de Wet, President Kruger had "asked for the intervention of Germany and France," which would help to explain the German Emperor's prompt message and promise of aid.

But, on the other hand, such an appeal for foreign intervention would have been a flagrant violation of the London Convention (see Article IV. and its whole tenor); and this was the view later taken both by the German Government, which withdrew, and by France, which abstained from all action, and, it may be added, by the Peace Conference of Amsterdam (1899), to which the South African Republic was not admitted as an independent State.

It was England itself, the paramount Power, that now intervened, and it was owing to the mediation of Lord Rosmead, High Commissioner, who had at once gone to Pretoria, that the Reform Committee was induced to lay down their arms on the demand of the President, and on the understanding that Lord Rosmead would see "justice done to them." It was now also known that, in virtue of the 1889 Convention (see above), the Free Staters had come forward with the offer of immediate assistance to their Transvaal allies. The Randsmen therefore felt that their position was utterly hopeless, the more so that they were "divided amongst themselves on the flag question. Until this question was settled in

the way Mr. Rhodes wished it to be settled, he had informed them that neither he personally nor his Chartered Company would co-operate at all; and that was the true reason why "flotation" (revolt) had been postponed till 6th January. Hence their hands were tied, their counsels were distracted, and that was the primary cause why Jameson was left to himself at Krugersdorp.

That this was the true inwardness of the situation, is placed beyond doubt by the language of Mr. Rhodes at his interview with Sir Graham Bower, Imperial Secretary at Cape Town, on 28th Dec. 1895, when he believed that the rising had not merely been postponed till 6th January, but had already collapsed—"fizzled out like a damp squib," were his words; and he explained that "the capitalists financing the movement [Mr. R. and associates] had made the hoisting of the British flag a *sine qua non*. This the National Union rejected, and issued a manifesto declaring for a Republic (see above). The division had led to the *complete collapse* of the movement [on or about 26th December], and it was thought that the leaders of the National Union would now

probably make the best terms they could with President Kruger."¹ Obviously, owing to the split, Mr. Rhodes had withdrawn for good, and all the greater must have been his consternation at the upsetting of the apple-cart, which he was no longer himself driving to market, but would none the less be held publicly responsible for.

So it proved, as shown by his immediate resignation of the Cape Premiership, and even of the Chairmanship of the Chartered Company. Then followed the inevitable State trials in Pretoria and London, resulting in the usual pains and penalties, commutations of sentences, and so forth. And out of it all arose a not lessened, perhaps a heightened, a warmer feeling of esteem for the two most conspicuous actors in the drama. Owing to the phenomenal apathy of the Colonial Office, and the increasing despotism of the Kruger Party, backed by a small majority of the Pretoria oligarchs, they found themselves involved in a hopeless condition, from which there was no escape. Their action had, moreover, done immense harm, by indefinitely retarding the

¹ Blue Book, C. 8063.

very measures of reform for which the blow had been struck, and which have not yet been granted. But they fell in a righteous cause, and the verdict of history will be that they were morally guiltless of any crime beyond indiscretion and impetuosity. The real delinquents are yet to be judged.

After the collapse the Imperial authorities at last awoke to a sense of their responsibilities. Mr. Chamberlain, while proffering his aid for the maintenance of order, wrote at once (4th January) to the High Commissioner, instructing him to inform the Pretoria Government that "the danger from which they had just escaped was real, and one which, if the causes which led up to it were not removed, might recur, although in a different form." This meant that, if the Boers persisted in repressive legislation, the "Jameson Raid" would be merged in armed intervention. The Boers did persist, and the armed intervention did follow.

It is assumed by the partisans of the Transvaalers that their hostile attitude towards England began only after, and because of, the Jameson Raid, and was also largely due to

Mr. Chamberlain's accession to office under the present administration. There is evidence that it is antecedent to those events, and in fact dates from the surrender of 1881, and has continued ever since, irrespective of any changes in Downing Street. After Majuba, the only powerful native State south of the Zambesi was that of the savage Matabili; and with their king Lobengula, General Joubert then sought an alliance, with the ultimate object of settling the question of "Boer or Briton" by driving the English out of South Africa. He wrote promising to visit Lobengula, when "the stink which the English brought is blown away altogether," and referring to the "peace which is so strong that the vile evil-doers [the English] were never able to destroy it, and never shall be able to destroy it as long as there shall be one Boer that lives and Lobengula also lives."

If anyone desires to know what sort of allies in a war against a Christian power these Matabili hordes would have been, he has but to turn to the pages of the late Montagu Kerr's *Far Interior* (1886). The author was just then making his way for the first time from the

Cape through Matabili and Mashona lands, and was also an eye-witness of some of the horrors which he describes. "A Matabili impi," he writes, "will approach as stealthily and as invisibly as snakes, crawling as closely upon the ground, and, concealed by the undergrowth, they watch the movements of their intended victims, the timid Mashonas. Then, when a favourable opportunity occurs, up they rise like a wild black cloud of destruction. Hissing and shrieking their fiercest battle-cry, they bound like the *klipspringer* (antelope) from rock to rock, dealing with fearful precision the death-giving blow of the assegai, and ever and anon shouting their terrific cry of triumph as they tear out the yet beating hearts of their victims."¹ Fortunately, the Christian Boers were saved the infamy of an alliance with these demons against their Christian brethren, by the later intervention of Mr. Rhodes' Chartered Company.

There is a fort now at Johannesburg; it was built after, but planned before, the Raid. It stands on the site of a jail, which, being inconveniently situated, Mr. Kruger was asked

¹ Vol. i. p. 104.

in 1891 to remove to a more convenient place. His reply was that he "did not care about the inconvenience, because some day the town would become troublesome, and he would want to convert the jail into a fort, and put guns there, before that time came." Again, on 27th January 1895, when Lord Ripon was Colonial Secretary (and was there ever a less aggressive or more tolerant official than that amiable nobleman?), Mr. Kruger spoke of promoting the interests, not of the suzerain, but of the Fatherland, "though it be only with the resources of a child such as my land is considered. This child is now being trodden upon (*sic*) by one great Power, and the natural consequence is that it seeks protection from another. The time has come to knit ties of the closest friendship between Germany and the South African Republic." If meant seriously, this language is treasonable, because appeal is here made to a foreign Power for "protection" against England, the paramount Power. Here is, in any case, a fresh illustration of wolf and lamb, to which Lord Ripon's attention may be directed.

There are now four forts at Pretoria, which,

though mostly erected since the Raid, constitute a quadrilateral strong enough, as is reported, to hold out for months against an army of one hundred thousand men. On these forts are mounted guns—Krupps, Creuzots, Howitzers—powerful enough to triturate one hundred thousand raiders, and blow all the Randsmen and all their works sky-high. Are these also directed against possible future raiders? Yes, if for raiders we read régulars, for whose reception preparations were in progress before the Raid.¹

Prior to that interlude, the Johannesburg Reform Committee also issued a manifesto, complaining, like that of the National Union, of many grievances—amongst others, that “we now have openly the policy of force revealed to us. Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds are to be spent upon a fort [the first bantling] at Pretoria; one hundred thousand pounds are to be spent upon a fort to terrorise the inhabitants of Johannesburg; large orders are sent to Krupp’s for big guns; Maxims have been ordered; and we are now even told that

¹ The British forces now in the field have actually been called the “Larger Raiders” by a Pretoria-London organ (Dec. 1899).

German officers are coming out to drill the Burghers." .

All that and much more was true, for the reformers, though on the spot, did not know everything: nobody even yet knows everything, and astounding revelations are reserved for the first chroniclers who shall, years hence, have access to the Pretoria archives. Meantime it is stated, on apparently good authority, that before the Raid fully £1,250,000 had been spent in accumulating the armaments of which Mr. Chamberlain complains (see above). Since then that figure has been dwarfed; and a leading German paper, the *National Zeitung* of 11th December 1899, is responsible for the statement that before the war 'the Boers were in possession of the following modern guns of the very best types:—

Eight 7.5 centimètre Krupp guns.

Sixteen 7.5 centimètre Creuzot guns.

Eight or nine Maxim-Nordenfelt guns.

Twenty-four 3.7 centimètre automatic Maxims.

Eight 12 centimètre field howitzers (four from Krupp and four from Creuzot).

Four modern 3.7 centimètre Krupp mountain guns.

Four 15.5 centimètre Creuzot guns.

In all, including old guns, they had eighty or ninety pieces of artillery, and during recent years had bought 40,000 Mauser rifles and 25,000,000 cartridges, besides a large number of Martini-Henry rifles.

With the guns, imported in huge wooden cases inscribed "Agricultural Machinery," came also the men; and it is stated that there are now serving in the commandos at least seven thousand Russians, Germans, French, Belgians, and Hollanders, mostly non-commissioned officers, engaged by Dr. Leyds during the last few years. In February 1896 the *Wynberg Times*, Cape Colony, raised a note of warning—needless to say unheeded—to the effect that Hamburg steamers were bringing batches of sixty or seventy mercenaries bound for Pretoria. These were distributed all over the Transvaal, and in the rural districts they acted as drill-masters and police officials. The plan of campaign was thought out by a Belgian officer, who went over all the borderlands and paid special attention to the Dundee and Ladysmith districts.

Details are freely circulated in the daily press, and M. Yves Guyot, an honourable

Parisian journalist, has had the fairness to admit that the Boers had evidently been preparing for the war while the English slept. They were not thoroughly awakened from that phenomenal sleep till the Krupps and Creuzots, handled by Albrechts and other foreign experts, were pounding them on the banks of the Tugela and Modder and from the Stormberg heights.

How was it done? Whence came the "sinews of war"? On this point also we have now valuable information. In a previous chapter the reader will have seen the astounding expansion of the Transvaal State income, from empty coffers and heavy liabilities to vast sums, exceeding £4,480,000 in 1897. Figures are "necessary evils," and perhaps a few may here be tolerated. For 1889 the estimated revenue was £4,590,000, and the expenditure £4,371,000, while the salaries of Government officials rose from £51,831 in 1886 to £570,000 in 1895, and £1,216,394 in 1899!

Then the "Military Expenses" jump from £28,000 in 1894 to £495,000 in 1896 and £614,000 in 1897, after which they seem to

fall off, being only £357,000 in 1898, and £265,000 estimated for 1899. But there are "Special Expenditures and Sundry Charges," which have absorbed £3,000,000, or an average of over £420,000 a year since 1893, while for "Public Works" the outlay rises from £353,000 in 1895 to £701,000 and £1,054,000 in 1896 and 1897 respectively. But it is an open secret that under "Public Works" are included the building and arming of forts, and the proof is that no provision is elsewhere made for these charges. In the same way it is notorious that "Special Expenditures," etc., are but another name for the secret service moneys spent on piling up the armaments, and, as also appears, in awards to various organs of the press, if not in England, at least abroad, for writing up the Boer cause.

One item—that of the salaries of the Government officials—calls for special attention. The geometrical rate of increase between 1886 and 1895 would of itself alone "spell corruption." But, apart from this indirect evidence, there is positive proof—official proof—that the whole land, from Pretoria down to the smallest hamlet, has been tainted,

as Peru was, by the sudden accession of wealth through the development of the gold industry. In the Report for 1897 sent in by Mr. D. Joubert, Chief Inspector of Offices, it is stated that the public moneys are misappropriated without let or hindrance everywhere in the Government offices, not only in the capital, but in the remote rural districts.

The list of incriminated officials, with the sums misappropriated, would fill several pages of this work; yet little notice was taken of the Report, and nearly all the defalcations were condoned or winked at, the only officials really punished being the Treasurer-General and his assistants.

In connection with the flotation of the Selati Railway Scheme, to mention another case, affidavits were filed in the High Court, giving the names of the promoters, and the sums accepted by them for their services. The list includes nearly every member of the 1891 Volksraad; Mr. Eloff, son-in-law and Private Secretary of President Kruger; Mr. Bok, Minute-Keeper of the Executive Council; Mr. Smit, Vice-President of the Republic,

and Mr. Schalk-Bürger, late candidate for the Presidentship. The corruption of the Transvaal oligarchy stands now revealed and "proven."

Respecting the taxes on the gold-mines, which, with railway, dynamite, and other monopolies, are the main sources of all this exuberance, the dividends paid in 1898—some £4,847,000—show that they are not perhaps excessive in themselves. But they are accompanied by vexatious regulations—the lack of proper protection against pilferings, the illicit liquor traffic (diminishing the value of native labour), the supply of bad or dear dynamite, and so forth, which if remedied would *ipso facto* increase the dividends enormously—some think by as much as £4,000,000 or so, without any extra expenditure on current account. For instance, the Government gets apparently not more than about £30,000 out of the dynamite monopoly, which yields to the concessionaries some £600,000 a year. But this expression covers several officials and other Burghers, who are consequently not over-zealous for reform or for the abolition of the monopoly, although it is admitted that the

concessionaries have repeatedly broken their contract.

Other sources of revenue are the 25,000,000 acres of public lands, which were formerly of nominal value, but are now worth many millions, because the Barberton and De Kaap gold-fields are Government property. Lastly, there is the Netherlands Railway Company, in which the State has a large interest. It holds one-third of the share capital, and also claims 85 per cent. of the net profits after a fixed dividend on the shares is provided for. From this source the Government drew £575,000 in 1898, and in the 1899 Budget the same item was estimated at £675,000, but must have greatly exceeded that sum owing to the charges levied on the refugees from the mining districts before the outbreak of hostilities. Yet, after the exodus, there was a fall from £243,000 in October to £90,000 in November.

And all the while no relief is afforded to the hapless Outlanders, ultimate fountain-head of this golden Pactolus. Close the mines, and the Transvaal lapses into a great cattle-range.

And here arises an important consideration,

which has not perhaps been sufficiently attended to. Not all the Outlanders are British subjects, and several considerable branches of the rising Pactolus flow straight to Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, and other European capitals. Hence, in seeking to safeguard their rights, England is at the same time protecting and promoting the interests of all the foreign capitalists who have invested money in the Transvaal gold-fields. This side of the question, although ignored by the reptile and gutter press in France and Germany, is perfectly understood by the enlightened and honest exponents of public opinion abroad. It will here suffice to refer again to M. Yves Guyot, who contends that England is directly responsible to all foreigners in the South African Republic for the strict observance of the fourteenth article of the London Convention (see above). "The Boers have not ceased to violate it, and, strange to say, this trouble has arisen from the fact that the Outlanders have asked that it should be respected. England is, in effect, acting on behalf of all the States which have subjects and interests in the Transvaal. Her

present work is not exclusively English; it is international. She intervenes, because in virtue of Article XIV. she is responsible for the security of the Outlanders and their freedom in work" (*loc. cit.*).

The nature of the grievances complained of will have been gathered in a general way from the preceding pages. But it may be convenient here to tabulate them in a form useful for reference. The statements here made may be taken as official, proofs being embodied in the Blue Books, in Hansard, in the speeches of Cabinet Ministers and prominent Members of Parliament, and in various documents issued by the Government or the Law Courts in Pretoria.¹

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.—The Outlanders, from one-half to three-fourths of the whole population, pay from five-sixths to nine-tenths of the taxes, but have no share in the administration. The taxation is more than £16 per head,—a burden probably unparalleled

¹ See Mr. Drage's "Speech on the Address to the Throne," 17th October 1899; reprint issued by the Imperial South Africa Association, 66 Victoria Street, S.W.

in any other country,—and includes such items as 1s. on every pound of ham or bacon ; 3d. on every pound of jam or vegetables ; 1d. on every pound of flour. Of the Outlanders so taxed and *déclassés*, about 90 per cent. are British subjects.

PRESS SHACKLED.—According to the Press Law of 1896, amended in 1898, the President can, on the advice of the Executive, forbid the circulation of printed matter altogether, or for a time, at his discretion ; and he may prohibit the circulation of any newspaper he chooses.

PUBLIC MEETINGS can be held only with the sanction of the Government.

INDOOR MEETINGS may be broken up by order of the police.

RELIGIOUS DISABILITIES.—No Roman Catholic or Jew can ever be President, or a Member of the Executive Council, or a Member of either of the Raads. None appear to be ever appointed as officials, although the law is not clear on the point.

FINANCE.—Administration bad and corrupt, without any proper system of audit or control. In 1897 the defalcations of officials amounted to £18,590, of which only a few hundred

pounds were recovered. Of advances to officials between 1883 and 1898, £2,398,500 were never accounted for.

SECRET SERVICE FUND.—£191,800, £36,000, and £42,000, in 1896, 1897, and 1898—all exceeding the sums voted in the British Imperial estimates.

THE LIQUOR LAW OF 1897.—Habitually evaded: under that law only 88 licences are allowed in Johannesburg, yet 438 were granted, resulting in the ruin of a large portion of the natives, from 20 to 30 per cent. (unofficial figures 30 to 40) of those employed in the mines being incapacitated.

JUDGES.—All subservient to the President, who can dismiss them at pleasure: the oath they are required to take is one which no man can take with self-respect.

CHIEF-JUSTICE.—Subservient to the Volksraad. Chief-Justice Kotze was summarily dismissed in February 1898 in virtue of the Act passed on 25th February 1897; was succeeded by the State Attorney Gregorowski, a mere tool in the hands of the Executive.

TRIAL BY JURY. — Non-existent for Outlanders.

POLICE ADMINISTRATION.—Harsh and arbitrary towards those they happen to bear a grudge against : murderers escape, and private persons are murdered with impunity.

BRITISH COLOURED SUBJECTS.—Their houses are entered without a warrant by the police, who may treat them with the grossest brutality—an infringement of their rights under the 1884 Convention.

ALIEN EXPULSION ACT OF 1896 gives the President power to expel any Outlander without any trial whatever; also against same, Convention.

COMMANDEERING.—Government claims the right, in time of war, either to compel the services or to seize the property of British subjects, and to levy a special war tax upon them.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—Forbidden in public documents and proceedings; in schools forbidden after Standard III. Of £63,000 raised for public instruction in Johannesburg, only £650 spent on British children; no grant made to English voluntary schools.

DYNAMITE MONOPOLY.—Condemned by the Volksraad Commission, but still upheld, though injurious not only to capitalists, but also to

workmen, through the terrible accidents caused by bad quality supplied.

OTHER MONOPOLIES, on matches, paper, chocolate, wool, starch, mineral waters, soap, oils, etc., greatly increasing expense of house-keeping.

JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPALITY. — Twenty - three thousand Outlander electors to one thousand Boers ; yet the Boers elect an equal number of members. The Chairman of the Council has to be a Boer, and the decisions of the Council are subject to confirmation by the Executive.

FRANCHISE.—See Constitution of Transvaal, p. 219 *sq.* Under the present law it remains within the power of the Transvaal Government to refuse the franchise to anyone, owing to the extremely complicated regulations and conditions which are attached to it (Sir Alfred Milner).

Respecting the statement often made, that the Outlanders themselves are indifferent to these abuses, and that the agitation fomented against them is hollow and factitious,—in fact, the work of demagogues or designing “millionaires,”—the best answer is given by Sir Alfred

Milner, who superseded Lord Rosmead as High Commissioner in February 1897 :—

“The attempt to represent that movement as artificial, the work of scheming capitalists or professional agitators, I regard as a wilful perversion of the truth. The defenceless people who are clamouring for a redress of grievances are doing so at great personal risk. It is notorious that many capitalists regard political agitation with disfavour, because of its effects on markets. It is equally notorious that the lowest class of Uitlanders, and especially the illicit liquor dealers, have no sympathy whatever with the cause of reform. . . . But a very large and constantly increasing proportion of Uitlanders are not ‘birds of passage’; they contemplate a long residence in the country, and they would make excellent citizens if they had the chance.”

Then come grave words :—

“The case for intervention is overwhelming. The only attempted answer is that things will right themselves if left alone. That policy has been tried for years, and it has led to them going from bad to worse. It is not true that this is owing to the Raid. We were on the

verge of war before the Raid, and the Transvaal was on the verge of revolution. The effect of the Raid has been to give the policy of leaving things alone a new life, with the old consequences."

As matters grew to a head, and diplomatic language began to assume a more resolute tone, the words *paramountcy* and *intervention* came constantly to the front. On the former nothing more need here be added. The right was never surrendered, and never could be surrendered, unless England was prepared to abandon the interests of all the South African populations, and withdraw from that part of the continent. Such a step could never be. It would not only be a revival of the old policy of non-interference in its very worst aspect, but would be a beginning of dismemberment. The Cape is, next to England herself, beyond all question the most vital strategical point in the empire. Were the Suez Canal closed in any great war by the accidental or intentional sinking of one or two large vessels, or by any other easily arranged obstruction, the only practical highway to the East would be round the Cape; and the East now means not only

the Indian Empire, Australia, and New Zealand, but the immense commercial interests now in process of development in China and Japan.

In the East are concentrated fully half the inhabitants of the globe, the great majority neither savages nor barbarians, but semi-civilised peoples, wearing clothes, dwelling in furnished habitations, plying divers arts and industries, and consequently presenting a boundless market for European commodities. Mr. Gladstone understood this when he looked with indifference on the Suez Canal—though here short-sighted—and pointed to the Cape as England's route to the East. Later, this view dawned on public opinion, which supported the Imperial grant of £2,000,000 voted in 1898 for converting Simon's Town into an Austral arsenal and naval station of the first order. The paramountcy, apart from all other considerations, is necessary for safeguarding this position and these interests. It involves the question of "Boer or Briton," which is no longer a mere subject for academic debate, but a matter of vital consequence to the British Empire—the greatest instrument for

promoting the well-being of mankind that the world has yet witnessed.

From paramountcy, when challenged, intervention follows in strict logical sequence. That it has been challenged, abundant evidence will be found in the foregoing pages. Ever since the Sand River Convention, the idea of Boer supremacy in South Africa has never been lost sight of; and, ever since the Majuba surrender, movements have been in progress aiming at that result. Concerted action, open and thinly veiled, has been taken by the attempted alliance with Mosilikatsi's successor, Lobengula; by the offensive and defensive alliances between the two Boer States; by the prodigious piling up of armaments and other military developments, transforming those pastoral States into fortified camping-grounds, girdled by natural ramparts commanding the two terraced British Colonies, for the most part unfortified, and denuded even of garrison troops; lastly, by the establishment of the Afrikander Bond early in the eighties.

This is a quasi-political association with wheels within wheels, so organised outwardly

as to attract members from all sections of white men, whatever their origin, born or settled in South Africa; so organised inwardly as to become at the right moment a serviceable instrument for political purposes. It is the belief of the English party at the Cape that many of the members of the Bond are not only in sympathy with the Transvaal, but are anxious for the victory of the Boers as a step in the direction of an Afrikaner Independence. This belief has undoubtedly been a strong though underlying motive of the warlike action on the part of the British Government; but it is only just to say that no definite evidence has yet been forthcoming of a conspiracy on the part of our own Dutch subjects.

In any case, this subject does not appear to have been raised when Sir Alfred Milner met President Kruger on 15th June 1899 at Bloemfontein to talk over the matters at issue. The Conference, which turned largely on the question of franchise—five or seven years' residence more or less—ended, as President Kruger perhaps intended it should end, in nothing. He had his Krupps and his

Creuzots ready, although of this Sir Alfred must have been fully aware. Both he and the Government had been repeatedly warned of the extent of the Boer preparations, and it is scarcely too much to say that the Intelligence Department knew every gun that the Boers possessed, and the number of troops they could put into the field. But the great mistake was made of supposing that they did not mean to fight, and with patience and forbearance everything would right itself. In any case, this patient attitude was maintained after the Conference, and history will have to record that England was found unready when the two Boer States were bristling in arms, and felt themselves strong enough to hurl in her face the memorable ultimatum of 9th October 1899.

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A review of the situation seems to show that—

1. The Boers are a "new race," a distinct adaptation of a blend of sundry European elements to a new environment under new political and social conditions.

2. Under the administration of the Dutch

East India Company (1652–1814), were badly treated, oppressed by trade monopolies, and prevented socially from rising above the status of squatters, mainly stock-breeders.

3. Under the early British administration (1814–34), were badly treated—English substituted for Dutch as the official language; English courts of justice substituted for the Dutch system (*Landrosts* and *Heemraaden*).

4. Were wronged by the manner in which the abolition of slavery (1834) was carried out, and by the reversion of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's Kafir policy (1833–34), leaving them exposed to inroads on the eastern frontiers of Cape Colony.

5. Their Great Trek was justified on legal, moral, and social grounds.

6. Were wrong then, and long after, by the subterfuges adopted to evade the terms of the Abolition Act and retain their slaves as "apprentices,"—another name for thralls.

7. Right in demanding the Sand River (1852), and the Bloemfontein (1854) Conventions.

8. Wrong in their treatment of the missionaries and their Bakwena (Bechuana) neophytes (1850–54).

9. Attitude towards Moshesh and the Basutos, a moot question.

10. Mainly right in their objections to the Keate Award (1871).

11. Wrong in their efforts to close the "English Road" (1850-54).

12. Attitude towards the Bapedi and Sekukuni (1876-77), a moot question.

13. Right in appealing against the annexation (1877).

14. Action of the triumvirs, and the revolt (1880), morally if not legally right.

15. Part played in connection with the 1881 and 1884 Conventions, right in act, wrong in intention.

16. Attempted alliance with Lobengula (1881), wrong.

17. Wrong in their encroachments on Bechuanaland (Goshen and Stellaland Republics, 1884).

18. Object of the Transvaal-Free State Conventions (1889-97), wrong.

19. The successive modifications of the Transvaal Constitution in the direction of a despotic oligarchy (1891, 1894, 1897), wrong.

20. Treatment of Outlanders (1890-1900), wrong.

21. Action in the Jameson Raid (1895-96), right.

22. Appropriation of public funds, and attitude towards venal and grasping officials, (1890-98), wrong.

23. Degradation of the Judicature (1896-98), wrong.

24. Secret armaments, hiring of mercenaries, and building of forts before and after the Raid, wrong and treasonable.

25. The ultimatum (9th October 1899), necessitating war, wrong and an outrage on the paramount Power.

THE END

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